

T H E
W O R K S
O F
M. DE V O L T A I R E.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

W I T H
NOTES, HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL.

BY T. SMOLLETT, M. D.

T. FRANCKLIN, M. A. AND OTHERS.

IN TWENTY-FOUR VOLUMES.

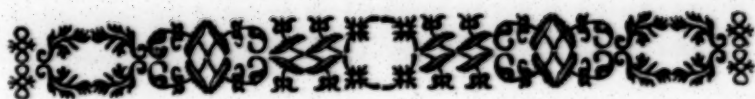


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T H E
C O N T E N T S
O F T H E
T H I R D V O L U M E.

C H A P. LXXX.

Of Lewis XI. king of France Page 1

C H A P. LXXXI.

*Of Burgundy and the Swiss nation, in the time of Lewis XI.
in the fifteenth century* 11

C H A P. LXXXII.

Of chivalry 15

C H A P. LXXXIII.

*Of the feudal government in the fifteenth century, after the
death of Lewis XI.* 19

C H A P. LXXXIV.

*Of Charles VIII. and of the state of Europe when that
prince undertook the conquest of Naples* 23

C H A P. LXXXV.

The state of Europe at the end of the fifteenth century 26

VOL. III.

b

C H A P.

C H A P. LXXXVI.

Of the conquest of Naples. Of Zizim, brother to Bajazet II. Of pope Alexander VI. &c. Page 42

C H A P. LXXXVII.

Of Savonarola 48

C H A P. LXXXVIII.

Of Pico de la Mirandola 51

C H A P. LXXXIX.

Of pope Alexander VI. and Lewis XII. of France 55

C H A P. XC.

The villanies of the family of Alexander VI. and of Cæsar Borgia. Sequel of affairs between Lewis XII. and Ferdinand the Catholic. Death of pope Alexander 61

C H A P. XCI.

Sequel of the political concerns of Lewis XII. 66

C H A P. XCII.

Of the league of Cambray, and its consequences. Of pope Julius II. &c. 68

C H A P. XCIII.

Sequel of the affairs of Lewis XII. of Ferdinand the Catholic, and of Henry VIII. king of England 75

C H A P. XCIV.

Of England, and the troubles in that kingdom, after its invasion of France. Of Margaret of Anjou, wife to Henry VI. &c. 79

C H A P. XCV.

Of Edward IV. Of Margaret of Anjou, and of the murder of Henry VI. 86

C H A P.

C O N T E N T S.

v

C H A P. XCVI.

Sequel of the troubles of England, during the reigns of Edward IV. the tyrant Richard III. and to the latter part of the reign of Henry VII. Page 90

C H A P. XCVII.

A general view of the sixteenth century 97

C H A P. XCVIII.

State of Europe in the time of Charles V. of Muscovy, or Russia. A digression concerning Lapland 101

C H A P. XCIX.

Of Germany and the empire 127

C H A P. C.

Customs of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and the state of the liberal arts 131

C H A P. CI.

Of Charles V. and Francis I. till the election of Charles to the empire, in 1519. Of the emperor Maximilian's project to get himself elected pope. Of the battle of Marignan 142

C H A P. CII.

Of Charles V. and Francis I. till the battle of Pavia 147

C H A P. CIII.

Francis I. taken prisoner. The taking of Rome. Solymán repulsed. Principalities conferred. Enquiry whether Charles V. aimed at universal monarchy. Solymán proclaimed king of Persia in Babylon 154

C H A P. CIV.

The Conduct of Francis I. His Interview with Charles V. Their disputes and wars. Alliance between the king of France and sultan Solymán. Death of Francis I. 162

C H A P. CV.

Troubles in Germany. Battle of Mulberg. The greatness, disgrace, and abdication of Charles V. 171

C H A P. CVI.

Of Leo X. and the Church 174

C H A P. CVII. and CVIII.

Of Luther and Zuinglius 182

C H A P.

C H A P. CIX.

The progress of Lutheranism in Sweden, Denmark, and Germany Page 192

C H A P. CX.

Of the Anabaptists 195

C H A P. CXI.

Sequel of the state of Lutheranism and Anabaptism 197

C H A P. CXII.

Of Geneva, and of Calvin 199

C H A P. CXIII.

Of Calvin and Servetus 202

C H A P. CXIV.

Of king Henry VII. and of the change of religion in England 207

C H A P. CXV.

Sequel of affairs relating to religion in England 217

C H A P. CXVI.

Of religion in Scotland 223

C H A P. CXVII.

Of religion in France, during the reign of Francis I. and his successors. 225

C H A P. CXVIII.

Of the Religious Orders 234

C H A P. CXIX.

Of the Inquisition 247

C H A P. CXX.

Of the discoveries of the Portuguese 256

C H A P. CXXI.

Of the Japan islands 263

C H A P. CXXII.

Of Ethiopia or Abyssinia 276

C H A P. CXXIII.

Of Columbus and America 278



A N T I E N T



A N D

M O D E R N H I S T O R Y .

C H A P. LXXX.

Of LEWIS XI. King of FRANCE.

WHEN the authority of Charles VII. began to be established in France by the expulsion of the English, the annexing of a number of provinces to the crown, and the perpetual subsidies granted him, the feudal government was soon extinguished in that kingdom.

From the contrary reason the feudal order was strengthened in Germany, the emperors being elective, and as such destitute of either provinces or supplies. Italy was still divided into independent republics and principalities; absolute power was wholly unknown in Spain, and in the North; and England, in the midst of her divisions, began to lay the foundation of that extraordinary government, which, through the most violent and bloody oppositions, has in a course of ages produced that happy mixture of liberty and royalty which is the admiration of all nations.

VOL. III.

B

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There were at this time, in France, only the two great fiefs of Burgundy and Brittany ; but these by their great power were entirely independent ; and, notwithstanding the feudal laws, they were never considered by the other powers of Europe, as making any part of the kingdom of France ; and Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, expressly stipulated with Charles VII. at the time that he forgave him the murder of his father, duke John, that he was not to do him homage for his dukedom.

The princes of the blood in France had appenages in peerage, but subject to the jurisdiction of the high court of parliament. The lords, though still possessed of great privileges in their own territories, had not as formerly any power in the state ; and there was only the count of Foix on the other side the Loire who had the title of " Prince by the grace of God," with a privilege of coining money ; but the lords of fiefs, and the corporations of large cities had immense privileges.

Lewis XI. son to Charles VII. became the first absolute king in Europe, after the decline of the Charlemagne family ; and he did not arrive at the peaceable enjoyment of this power, till after many violent struggles. His life is one great contrast, and it is certainly meant to humble and confound virtue, that he has been cried up for a great king : he whom all historians paint as a most unnatural son, a barbarous brother, a bad father, and a perfidious neighbour ! he embittered the last years of his father's life ; nay, he was the cause of his death ; for every one knows that the unhappy Charles VII. died through fear that his son should put him to death : that is to say, he chose to abstain from all food, rather than run the risk of swallowing the poison, that he apprehended his son intended for him. Such an apprehension in a parent is alone sufficient to prove that he deemed his son capable of the crime.

Upon a careful review of the whole conduct of Lewis XI. may we not represent him to ourselves as a man who frequently strove to disguise insolence by low artifice, and uphold treachery by cruelty ? How came it
to

to pass else, that in the very beginning of his reign, so many of the great noblemen, who had been in his father's interest, and especially the famous count de Du-nois, whose sword had so often kept the crown on his head, combined against him in the "League for the public good?" They did not take advantage of the weakness of the royal authority, as had so frequently been done before : but Lewis had abused his power. It is plain that the father, made wise by his faults and his misfortunes, governed very well ; and that his son, intoxicated with power, began his government very badly.

This league put him in danger of his crown and life. The battle of Montlery decided little or nothing in his favour ; and he had no other way 1465 left to break the league, than by granting each of the confederates what he pleased to demand : so that his very dexterity, in this affair, was a proof of his weakness.

Without the least reason he made himself an irreconcilable enemy to Charles duke of Burgundy, son to Philip the Good, at that time master of Burgundy, Franche Comté, Flanders, Artois, many towns on the Somme, and Holland, by stirring up the people of Liege to an act of perfidy against the duke, and afterwards to take up arms against him. At the same time he put himself into his hands at Peronne, thinking by that behaviour to deceive him the more effectually. Could there be worse policy ! He was defeated, and saw himself a prisoner in the castle of Pe- 1468 ronne, and obliged to march after his vassal against these very people whom he had stirred up to revolt. Could there be a greater humiliation ?

He feared his brother the duke of Berri, and this prince was poisoned by a Benedictine monk, his confessor, whose name was Favre Vefois. This is not one of those doubtful acts taken upon trust by the malice or envy of mankind. The duke of Berri was at supper with the lady of Montforau, his mis- 1472 tress, and this confessor ; the latter ordered a fish of an extraordinary size to be served up at table.

The lady expired immediately upon eating of it, and the prince died some time after in the most excruciating convulsions.

Odet Daidie, a brave nobleman, determined to revenge the death of the duke, to whom he had been particularly attached, conveyed the murderer into Brittany, where being out of Lewis's power, he was fairly tried; but on the day that he was to receive his sentence, he was found dead in his bed. Lewis, to quiet the public clamour, ordered the papers relating to the tryal to be sent him, and appointed commissioners to examine into the truth of the accusation. After several deliberations, they resolved upon nothing, and the king loaded them with favours. It was not in the least doubted in Europe, that Lewis was guilty of this murder, who, when dauphin, had put his own father Charles VII. in fear of his life. History ought not to accuse him of this crime without proof; but it may lament that he gave reason for the suspicion, and ought especially to remark, that every prince, who is guilty of an avowed crime, is likewise guilty of all the rash judgments which may be made of his actions.

Such was the conduct of Lewis XI. with respect to his vassals and his relations. Let us now see what it was to his neighbours. Edward IV. king of England, makes a descent in France, in hopes to recover some part of his predecessors, conquests. Lewis was in a condition to

give him battle, but he chose rather to be-
 1475 come his tributary. He gained over some of the chief officers in the English army, and made presents of wine to all the common soldiers. In fine, he purchased the retreat of this army by his liberalities. Would it not have been more worthy a king of France to have employed this money in putting his kingdom in a posture of defence, than in bribing an enemy whom he feared, and whom he ought not to have feared?

Noble minds boldly chuse their favourites from persons of illustrious birth, and their ministers from those of approved capacity; but Lewis's confidants and ministers were

were born among the dregs of the people, and their sentiments were still meaner than their birth.

Few tyrants ever put a greater number of citizens to death by the hands of the executioner, or under more studied torments than this prince: the chronicles of those times reckon no less than four thousand public and private executions in the course of his reign; and the only monuments, he has left behind him, are the dungeons, iron cages, and instruments of torture with which he harraßed his wretched subjects, and which posterity looks upon with terror.

It is surprising, that father Daniel hardly mentions the punishment inflicted on James d'Armagnac, duke of Nemours, the known descendent of king Clovis. The circumstances and manner of 1477 his death, the distribution of his estate, and the confinement of his young children, during the lifetime of Lewis XI. are melancholy and interesting objects of curiosity.

We do not exactly know the nature of this prince's crime: he was tried by commissioners, which gives room to imagine that he was not really culpable. Some historians idly impute to him the design of seizing the king's person and killing the dauphin. But such an accusation is hardly to be credited; for how could a petty prince, who had taken refuge at the foot of the Pyrenees, think of seizing Lewis XI. in a time of profound peace, and when that monarch was at the zenith of his power, and in full exercise of absolute authority in his kingdom! The notion of killing the dauphin, who was then an infant, and preserving the father, is another of those extravagant projects which could never have entered into the mind of a statesman. All that we can find well attested in relation to this affair is, that Lewis had the utmost hatred to the Armagnac family; that he caused the duke of Nemours to be seized at Carlat in 1477; that he confined him in an iron cage in the Bastile; and that, having drawn up the articles of his impeachment with his own hand, he sent judges to try him, among whom was that famous traitor, Philip de Comines, who having long sold the secrets of the house

of Burgundy to the king, engaged afterwards openly in the French service, and whose memoirs are still in great esteem, though written with all the caution of a courtier, who was afraid of declaring the truth, even when Lewis was no more.

The king ordered the duke of Nemours to be examined in his iron cage, after which he was put to the torture, and received sentence of death. He was then led to confession in a hall hung with black: confession began at that time to be considered as a favour granted to condemned criminals: and mourning hangings were only used for princes. It was in this manner that Conradin had been formerly executed at Naples, and that Mary Stuart of Scotland was afterwards treated in England.

But here Lewis XI. put in practice a thing hitherto unknown in any country: he caused the duke's young children to be placed under the scaffold erected for their father's execution, that they might receive his blood upon them, with which they went away all covered; and in this condition were conducted to the Bastile in wooden cages, made in the form of horse panniers, where the confinement their bodies suffered, put them to perpetual torture. In short, the unheard of torments these unhappy princes suffered would be incredible, were they not well attested by the petition which they presented to the estates in 1483, after the death of Lewis XI.

Never was honour and integrity less regarded than under this reign. The judges themselves were not ashamed to divide amongst them the possession of those whom they condemned.

Amidst the barbarity and ferocity of manners which distinguished the times preceding these, some heroic actions now and then broke forth. The reign of Charles VII. had its Dunois, its La Trimouille, its Clifton, its Richemont, its Saintraille, its La Hire, and many magistrates of approved merit: but during the reign of Lewis XI. there appeared not one great man. He had utterly debased the whole nation: all virtue was become extinct, and servile obedience was the only merit,
till

till at length the people grew easy under their burthen, like wretches condemned to the galleys for life.

But with all this cruelty and craft, Lewis had two predominant passions, which one would imagine should have humanized his manners; these were love and devotion. He had mistresses, he had bastards, and he performed pilgrimages; but his love was of a piece with the rest of his character; and his devotion was only the superstitious fear of a timorous and bewildered mind. He always went covered with relics, and constantly wore a leaden figure of the Virgin Mary in his hat, of which it is said he used to ask pardon for his murders before he committed them. He made a deed of the earldom of Bologne to the Holy Virgin. True piety does not consist in making the Virgin Mary a countess, but in refraining from those actions which our consciences condemn, and which God seldom fails to punish.

He introduced the Italian custom of ringing a bell at twelve o'clock at noon, when every one was to say an *Ave Maria*. He asked permission of the pope to wear the surplice and the amice*, and to be a second time anointed with the holy oil of Rheims.

At length, being sensible of the approaches of death, he shut himself up in the castle of 1403 Pleffis-les-tours, and, inaccessible to every one, surrounded by guards, and a prey to the most bitter reflections, he sent for a hermit of Calabria, called Francisco Martorillo, since adored as a saint, under the name of St. Francisco de Paulo, and throwing himself at his feet, entreated him with a flood of tears, to intercede with God, that his life might be prolonged; as if the voice of a Calabrian friar in a village of France could arrest the ordnance of God, or preserve a weak and perverse soul in a worn-out body, contrary to the rules of nature. While he was thus begging for life of a foreign hermit, he thought to recruit the weak remains that

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were

* An ornament which the canons of a cathedral church wear on their arms when they go to officiate at mass.

were left, by drinking the blood of young children, fondly imagining to correct thereby the acrimony of his own.

Certainly no one could experience a more melancholy situation than to be in the midst of power and prosperity, the continual victim of uneasiness, remorse, fear, and the shame of being universally detested.

And yet he was the first of the kings of France, who took and used the title of Most Christian king; much at the same time that Ferdinand of Arragon, as famous for his perfidies as his conquests, took that of Catholic.

Notwithstanding his many vices, Lewis had some good qualities. He was valiant and liberal: he was well acquainted with men and things: he would have justice executed; and no one but himself dared to be unjust.

When Paris had been laid waste by a plague, it was repopled through his care; on this occasion indeed he received a number of robbers and freebooters, but the severity of his administration soon made them good citizens. In his time, this city contained eighty thousand burghers able to bear arms. To him the people were first indebted for the lowering of the power of the *grande*s. This made about fifty thousand families murmur against him; but it procured, or ought to have procured him, the blessings of above five hundred thousand.

He was the first who established the posts, though not on the same footing as they now are in Europe. He only revived the *veredarii* of Charlemagne, and the anti-ent Roman empire. He kept two hundred and thirty couriers, at his own expence, to carry his orders incessantly through the kingdom. Private persons had the use of the horses belonging to these couriers, on paying ten sols per horse for every journey of thirty leagues. Letters were delivered from town to town by the king's couriers. This branch of police was for a long time unknown in France. He likewise endeavoured to establish one standard for weights and measures throughout the kingdom, as had been done in the time of Charlemagne.

lemagne. In a word, he proved that a bad man may be a public benefactor, when his private interests are not against it.

The taxes in the reign of Charles VII. independent of the royal demesnes, amounted to seventeen hundred thousand livres of that currency. In the reign of Lewis XI. they were four millions and an half of livres, which at ten livres to the mark, will make twenty-three millions and an half of our present currency. Now, if we examine the price of commodities according to this proportion, especially corn, which is the principal one, we shall find that they were not worth above one half of what they are at present: so that with twenty-three millions and an half, the government then answered all the purposes, for which it is at present obliged to expend forty-six.

Such was the condition of the French power before Burgundy, the Franche Comté, Artois, the territory of Boulogne, the cities on the Somme, Provence, and Anjou, were annexed to the monarchy by Lewis XI. This kingdom soon afterwards became the most powerful in Europe, and might be compared to a river swelled by a thousand lesser streams, and cleared from the mud and weeds which had so long interrupted its course.

Titles at this time first began to be given to power. Lewis XI. was the first king of France who had the title of Majesty given him, which before was only given to the emperor, and which the German chancery has never granted to any king even to this day. The kings of Arragon, Castile, and Portugal, had the title of Highness. The king of England was stiled Your Grace: and Lewis XI. might have been called Your Despotship.

We have now seen by what a series of fortunate crimes he came to be the first absolute king in Europe, since the establishment of the great feudal government. Ferdinand the Catholic, could never attain this power in Arragon. Isabella indeed had the address to work the minds of her Castilians to passive obedience, but she never reigned absolute. Every state, every province, and every city throughout Europe, had its particular

privileges; the feudal lords often opposed these privileges, and the kings frequently attempted to subject both the feudal lords and the cities to their obedience; but neither of them accomplished it, till Lewis XI. and he only by spilling the blood of Armagnac and Luxembourg on the scaffold, sacrificing every thing to his vengeance, and paying dearly the execution of his vile purposes. Isabella of Castile, managed with more cunning and less cruelty; for instance, how did she act when wanting to unite the duchy of Placentia to her own crown? By means of insinuations and money, she excited the vassals of the duke of Placentia to revolt against him. They accordingly assemble, and demand to be admitted as vassals of queen Isabella, and she, out of complaisance, complies with their request.

Lewis XI. at the same time that he increased his power over his subjects by his rigorous administration, enlarged his kingdom by his industry and application to public business. He procured the county of Provence in legacy from its last sovereign count, and thus deprived the empire of a feudatory, as Philip of Valois had done with regard to Dauphiné. He likewise annexed Anjou and Maine, which belonged to this count, to the crown of France; and thus, by skill, money, and good fortune, did the kingdom of France, which, from the reign of Hugh Capet, had been of little or no consideration, and which had been almost finally destroyed by the English, become a considerable state. The same good fortune procured it the addition of Burgundy; and the faults of the last duke restored this province to the state, which the imprudence of its kings had separated from it.

C H A P. LXXXI.

OF BURGUNDY, and the SWISS NATION, in the Time
of LEWIS XI. in the fifteenth Century.

CHARLES the Rash, who was descended in a right line from John, king of France, held the duchy of Burgundy as an appennage of his house, together with the cities upon the Somme, which had been ceded to his family by Charles VII. He was likewise possessed by right of succession of the Franche Comté, Artois, Flanders, and almost all Holland. His cities in the Low Countries were in a flourishing condition, by means of their extensive commerce, which almost equalled that of Venice; Antwerp was the staple of the northern nations, the town of Ghent employed fifty thousand workmen in their woollen manufactory, Bruges had as great a trade as Antwerp, and Arras was then famous for those fine hangings which still go by its name in Germany, England, and Italy.

It was then customary for princes to sell their dominions when they were in want of money, as a private person now sells his house or his estate. This custom took place after the crusades, Ferdinand, king of Arragon, sold Roussillon to Lewis XI. with right of redemption; Charles, duke of Burgundy, had lately purchased the province of Gueldres, and a duke of Austria had sold him all the demesnes he possessed in Alsace, and the neighbourhood of Swisserland. This acquisition was worth much more than Charles gave for it, who now saw himself in possession of a state, which reached from the banks of the Somme to the gates of Strasburg; he had nothing to do therefore but to enjoy his good fortune. Few kings in Europe were so powerful as himself, and not one more rich or magnificent; but he was desirous to erect his states into a kingdom, which might one day have proved very prejudicial to France.

To

To effect this nothing more was necessary than to purchase a diploma of the emperor Frederic III. the custom being still preserved of asking the title of king of the emperors, as a kind of homage paid to the ancient Roman empire. Charles, however, failed in this negotiation; but as he designed to add Lorraine and Switzerland to his dominions, he was sure that if he succeeded he might make himself king without the permission of any one.

He was not at the least pains to disguise his ambition, and this procured him the surname of the Rash. We

may form an idea of his haughtiness by his
1474 manner of receiving the deputies from Switzerland. The writers of that country affirm, that he obliged them to address him upon their knees. This is a strange contradiction in the manners of a free nation which soon after became his conquerors.

The foundation of the duke of Burgundy's pretensions to this homage, to which the Helvetic body submitted, was as follows: Several Swiss villages were situated in the midst of the demesnes which he had purchased of the duke of Austria, and he thought, when he made this purchase, that he bought these people likewise as slaves: the deputies of the commons always addressed the king of France upon the knee, and the duke of Burgundy had always kept up the *etiquette* of the chiefs of his house. We have elsewhere observed that several kings, after the example of the emperor, had insisted on the ceremony of the bended knee when spoken to, or presented with any thing; and that this custom, which came originally from Asia, had been introduced by Constantine, and before him by Dioclesian. From hence came the custom, that a vassal should do homage to his lord by kneeling with both knees upon the ground, and likewise the custom of kissing the pope's feet. This is the history of human vanity.

Philip of Comines, and the croud of historians that followed him, pretend, that the war against the Swiss, which proved so fatal to the duke of Burgundy, was occasioned by a cart-load of sheep-skins. The slightest occasion will kindle a war when matters are ripe for it:

but

but Lewis XI. had for a long time been endeavouring to animate the Swiss against the duke of Burgundy, and many acts of hostility had passed between both parties, before the adventure of the sheep-skins. The truth is, that Charles's ambition was the only occasion of the war.

There were at that time only eight Swiss cantons: Fribourg, Soleure, Schaffhouse, and Appenzel, not having then entered into the alliance; nor did Basil, an imperial town, whose situation upon the Rhine made it a rich and flourishing port, make a part of this infant republic, known then only for its poverty, simplicity, and courage. The deputies of Berne presented a remonstrance to this ambitious prince, setting forth, that their whole country was not worth the spurs worn by his knights. These deputies did not address Charles upon the knee; they spoke with humility, and defended themselves bravely.

The duke's gendarmes, whose armour was all covered with gold, were twice beaten, 1476 and suffered the most shameful defeat from these humble villagers, who were astonished at the richness of the spoils they found in the enemy's camp.

Could it have been foreseen, that, when the largest diamond in Europe, taken by a Swiss soldier in the battle of Granfon, was sold by him to his general for a crown; could it have been foreseen, I say, at that time, that one day there should be as beautiful and opulent cities in Switzerland as the capital of the duchy of Burgundy then was? The luxury of jewels and rich stuffs was for a long time unknown to those people, and when it came to be known, it was prohibited; but the solid riches, which consist in agriculture, were always left free, to be gathered by the free and victorious hands of the inhabitants. The conveniencies of life have been more sought after by them of late; and the pleasures of society and sound philosophy, without which society can afford no lasting pleasure, have found their way into those parts of Switzerland where the climate is more mild, and where plenty now reigns. In fine, in some parts of this country, formerly so wild and uncouth,

couth, they have at length found the way to join the politeness of Athens with the Spartan simplicity.

In the mean time Charles the Rash determined to revenge himself upon Lorraine, and wrest the city of Nanci (which he had taken once before) from its lawful possessor duke René; but these very Swifs, who had formerly conquered him, being now joined by the people of Fribourg and Soleure, who in that rendered themselves worthy of the alliance, again defied the usurper of their country, who purchased with his

1477 blood the title of Rash, bestowed upon him by posterity.

Then it was that Lewis XI. made himself master of Artois and the cities in the Somme, and of the duchy of Burgundy as a male-fief, and of the city of Besançon, as lying very convenient for him.

The princess Mary, daughter to Charles the Rash, and sole heiress of so many provinces, saw herself by this means stript in an instant of two thirds of her inheritance. Lewis might also have added to the kingdom of France the Seventeen Provinces, which almost all belonged to this princess, by marrying her to his son; but he vainly flattered himself with having her for daughter-in-law, whom he had stript of her dominions; and thus this great politician missed an opportunity of annexing Franche Comté and all the Low Countries to his kingdom.

The people of Ghent and of the rest of the towns in Flanders, who enjoyed more freedom at that time under their sovereigns, than even the English do under their kings, destined Maximilian, son to the emperor Frederic III. for a consort to their princess.

At present subjects learn the marriages of their princes, the making of war and peace, the laying on of taxes, and in short the whole of their destiny, from the declarations issued by their masters, but it was not so in Flanders: the people of Ghent determined that their princess should marry a German: and they cut off the heads of the princess Mary's chancellor, and of her chamberlain Imbercourt, for having entered into a treaty of marriage for her with the dauphin of France; and these

these two ministers were executed in the very presence of the young princess, who pleaded in vain for their pardon with these rough people. 1478

Maximilian, who was invited rather by the people than the princess, repaired to Ghent to conclude his nuptials, like a private gentleman going to make his fortune by marrying a rich heiress; his wife defrayed the expence of his journey, his equipage, and his household. But though he espoused Mary, he did not get possession of her dominions, and was only the husband of a sovereign princess; and even when at the death of his wife he became guardian to the son he had by her; when he had the government of the Low Countries, and even after he came to be king of the Romans, and emperor, the inhabitants of Bruges imprisoned him in 1488 for four months, for having violated their privileges. Thus, if princes have frequently abused their power, the people on the other hand have as much abused their privileges.

This marriage of the heiress of Burgundy with Maximilian proved the source of all those wars, which have for such a number of years set the house of France at variance with that of Austria. This it was which gave rise to the greatness of Charles V. and brought Europe to the brink of slavery: all through the obstinacy of the citizens of Ghent, in marrying their princess.

C H A P. LXXXII.

OF CHIVALRY.

THE extinction of the house of Burgundy, the administration of Lewis XI. and above all, the new method of making war lately introduced throughout Europe, had by little and little contributed to the abolition of that kind of military dignity or brotherhood, known by the name of chivalry, of which only the shadow is now left.

This

This chivalry was a military institution which had arisen of itself among the great lords, in the same manner as religious societies or brotherhoods had been established among the citizens. This institution owed its birth to the anarchy and rapine which desolated all Europe upon the decline of the Charlemagne family. The nobles of all degrees, dukes, counts, viscounts, vidames, castellans, were now become sovereign princes in their own territories, and continually making war upon each other; and, instead of the great armies of Charles Martel, Pepin, and Charlemagne, almost all Europe was divided into small troops of seven or eight hundred men, and sometimes much less. Two or three towns made a petty state, which was incessantly fighting with its neighbouring state. The communication between the provinces was shut up, the high roads were neglected, or so infested with robbers, that the merchant could no longer travel in safety, or bring his commodities to market; without which there was no subsisting. Every possessor of a castle stopt them upon the road, and laid them under contribution, and many of the larger castles upon the borders of the rivers were real dens of thieves, who not only plundered the merchants, but frequently carried off all the women that came in their way.

Several of the lords by degrees entered into associations for the defence of the public safety, and the protection of the ladies, to which they bound themselves by oath; and this virtuous institution, by being made a religious act, became an indispensable duty; several associations of this kind were formed in most of the provinces, and every lord of a large fief held it an honour to be a knight, and admitted into this order.

Towards the eleventh century there were several religious and profane ceremonies appointed for the observance of each candidate, which seemed to throw a new character upon the order. The person who stood for admittance was to fast, to confess himself, to receive the sacrament, and to pass one whole night under arms: after this he was to sit at a table by himself, while his godfathers, and the ladies that were to arm the new knight,

knight, dined at another. The candidate, clad in a white robe, was at his little table by himself, where it was forbidden him to speak, laugh, or even to touch food. The next day he was to make his entrance into the church, with his sword hanging about his neck, and received the priest's benediction; he was then to go and kneel down before the lord or lady, who was to invest him with his armour of knighthood. Those of the assistants who were qualified put on his spurs, clad him with his cuirass, his cap, his cuisses, his gauntlets, and the coat of mail called the haubert. The godfather who installed him gave him three strokes with the flat of his sword on the neck, in the name of God, St. Michael, and St. George. And, from this instant, every time he heard mass he drew his sword at the reading of the gospel, and held it upright.

The installation was followed by a magnificent entertainment, and frequently by a tournament; but these were always at the people's expence. The great feudal lords imposed a tax upon their vassals on the day that any of their children were made knights. Young people were generally admitted to this honour at the age of twenty-one: before that they were termed bachelors, which is as much as to say lesser knights, varlets, or squires; and the lords who were incorporated in these military societies, frequently gave their children to each other, to be brought up at a distance from their parent's roof, under the name of valets or apprentices in chivalry.

These knights were in greatest vogue in the time of the crusades. The lords of fiefs, who brought vassals into the field under their banner, were called knights bannerets; not that the title of knight alone gave them the privilege of appearing in the field with banners. It was their power, and not the ceremony of installation, which enabled them to raise troops and keep them on foot. They were bannerets in virtue of their fiefs, and not of their knighthood; this title being only a distinction introduced by custom; a kind of conventional honour, and not any real dignity in the state, nor of the least weight in the form of government.



ment. The knights had no share in the elections of emperors or kings; nor was it necessary to have been dubbed a knight to be admitted to a seat in the diets of the empire, the parliaments of France, or the cortes of Spain. In a word, none of the essentials of government, such as infeoffments, rights of dependency and jurisdiction, inheritance, or laws, had any connection with chivalry. The chief privileges of this institution consisted in bloody exhibitions and tournaments. A bachelor or esquire was not in general allowed to enter the lists against a knight.

Kings themselves frequently entered into this order, but this made no addition to their honour or power; they did it only to encourage chivalry and valour by their example. The knights were always treated with great respect by the community, and that was all.

But after king Edward III. instituted the order of the garter; Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, that of the golden fleece; and Lewis XI. the order of St. Michael, which at its first institution was as noble as either of the other two, though now so ridiculously disgraced; then the ancient chivalry began to decline. It had no longer any distinguishing mark, nor a chief to confer the particular honours and privileges of the order. And there were no longer any knights bannerets after the kings and great princes had erected military companies; so that chivalry became then only a name. The honour of knighthood was generally conferred by a great prince on some renowned warrior. Those lords who were of any established rank of dignity took, with the rest of their titles, that of knight; and all those who made profession of arms called themselves esquires.

The military orders of knighthood, as those of the Templars, of Malta, the Teutonic order, and several others, are only imitations of the ancient chivalry, and have added religious ceremonies to the military function. But this kind of chivalry is quite different from the ancient institution, and was only productive of certain orders of military monks, founded by the popes, endowed with benefices, and confined to three orders of monks.

monks. Of these extraordinary orders, some have been great conquerors, others have been suppressed on account of their debaucheries, and others still continue to subsist in high reputation.

The Teutonic was a sovereign order, as that of Malta still is, and will long continue to be.

Almost every prince in Europe has endeavoured to establish an order of knighthood. The simple title of knight, bestowed by the kings of England upon some of the principal citizens, without their being incorporated into any particular order, is derived from the ancient chivalry, but differs widely from its original. The ancient chivalry has been preserved no where but in France, in the ceremony of creating knights all the ambassadors sent to that court from the republic of Venice; and in this installation the dubbing or striking with the sword is the only part of the original institution which is preserved.

Here we have exhibited to us a various picture; and if we attentively trace the chain of all the customs in Europe since the time of Charlemagne, in state, church, war, honours, finances, and society, nay even in dress itself, we shall meet with nothing but one perpetual change.

C H A P. LXXXIII.

Of the FEUDAL GOVERNMENT, in the fifteenth Century,
after the death of LEWIS XI.

YOU have already seen how in Italy, France, and Germany, anarchy was turned into despotism, under the reign of Charlemagne, and despotism again overturned by anarchy under his descendents.

You are sensible how wrong it is to think, that there were no hereditary fiefs before the time of Hugh Capet. Normandy is a strong instance of the contrary. Bavaria and Aquitain were hereditary fiefs before Charlemagne's time;

time; as were almost all the Italian fiefs under the Lombard kings. In the reign of Charles the Fat and the Simple, the great officers of state and some bishops arrogated to themselves the rights of regality. But there were always possessors of large territories under the title of Sires in France, Herren in Germany, and Ricos Hombres in Spain. There were always likewise some great cities governed by their own magistrates, as Rome, Milan, Lyons, Rheims, &c. Now the bounds of the liberties of these cities, and those of the power of particular lords, have been always changing; and force and fortune have determined every thing. If some of the great officers became usurpers, the father of Charlemagne had been the same. Pepin the grandson of Arnold, bishop of Metz, and preceptor to Dagobert, dethroned the family of Clovis*: Hugh Capet dispossessed Pepin's family; and the descendants of this Hugh Capet were never able to re-assemble the scattered members of the French monarchy.

The feudal power in France received a mortal blow from Lewis XI. and was vigorously opposed in Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella. In England it had been obliged to give way to the mixed form of government. It still subsisted in Poland indeed, though under another form. But in Germany it remained in full vigour, and was even encreasing every day. The count de Boulainvilliers calls this constitution. "The effort of human genius." Loiseau, and other great civilians, term it "An extravagant institution; a monster composed of members without an head."

We cannot think it a very powerful effort of genius, but rather the mere natural and common effect of human reason and ambition, for those who were in possession of lands to be desirous of being masters in their own territories. The great land-holders, from the midst of Muscovy to the mountains of Castile, have all thought in the same manner, though they may not perhaps have communicated their ideas to each other; and were all equally desirous that their lives and estates should

* See Vol. I. Chap. vi. viii. ix.

should not depend upon the absolute power of a king. They have associated together in every country to oppose this power, and at the same time have exercised it as much as they were able upon their own vassals and subjects.

This kind of government prevailed in Europe for upwards of five hundred years; it was indeed unknown among the Greeks and Romans. But certainly that cannot properly be called an extravagant institution, which has been so universally received in Europe. It is doubtless an unjust one, because the greater number are crushed by the fewer, and the private citizen can never hope to rise but by a general subversion of the state. No flourishing cities, no extensive commerce, nor no encouragement for the polite arts are found under a government purely feudal: and the powerful cities in Germany and Flanders flourished only in consequence of a short interval of liberty. The cities of Ghent, Bruges, and Antwerp, for example, are to be considered rather as republics under the protection of the dukes of Burgundy, than towns subject to the arbitrary authority of those dukes. The same may be said of the imperial cities.

You have seen the feudal anarchy establish itself through a great part of Europe under the successors of Charlemagne: but before his time, and under the Lombard kings, the feudal form of government was more regular. The Franks, when they invaded Gaul, divided amongst them the territories of Clovis: therefore the count de Boulainvilliers will have it that the lords of castles were all sovereign princes in France. But what person not possessed of territories can say, I am a descendent of one of the conquerors of Gaul? Or, though he should be descended in a right line from any one of these usurpers, would not the cities and commons have a better right to recover their liberty than this Frank ever could have had to deprive them of it.

It cannot be said that the feudal power in Germany was established by right of conquest, as it was in Lombardy and France. Germany was never entirely conquered by foreigners; and yet it is, at this time, the only

only country in the world where the feudal law truly subsists. The Boyards of Russia have their subjects, but they are subjects themselves, and do not form a body politic like the German princes. The Tartar khans and the princes of Walachia and Moldavia are real feudal lords, holding of the grand seignior. But then they are liable to be deposed by an order of divan; whereas the German lords cannot be dispossessed but by the general decree of the whole nation. The Polish nobility are more upon an equality with each other than the landholders in Germany; therefore this is not a real feudal government. There are likewise no rear-vassals in Poland. A nobleman there is not the subject of another nobleman, as in Germany. Poland is an aristocratic republic, where the common people are all slaves.

The feudal law is on a different footing in Italy. Every territory is deemed a fief of the empire in Lombardy, which occasions great uncertainty; for the emperors are supreme lords of those fiefs, only in quality of kings of Italy, and successors to the kings of Lombardy. Now certainly a diet of Ratisbon is not king of Italy. But what has happened from this? The Germanic liberty having prevailed over the imperial authority in Germany, and the empire having become a distinct thing from the emperor, the Italian fiefs call themselves vassals of the empire, and not of the emperor. Thus one feudal administration is become another feudal administration. The fief of Naples again is of a nature entirely different from either of these. It is a homage paid by the stronger to the weaker; a kind of ceremony kept up by custom.

Every thing has been a fief in Europe, and the laws of fiefs have been every where different. When the male branch of Burgundy became extinct, Lewis XI. thought he had a right to succeed to that dukedom. But if the house of Saxony or Bavaria was to fail, the emperor would have no right to take possession of those provinces: nor would the pope have any claim to the kingdom of Naples, in case the reigning family was to become extinct. These rights are all derived from force, custom, or agreement. Force gave Burgundy to
Lewis

Lewis XI. for there was still a prince of that house living, the count of Nevers, who was a descendent of the lawful possessors, but dared not assert his right. It was likewise no less scandalous that Mary of Burgundy was excluded from the succession: for in the grant, made of the dominion of Burgundy to her ancestors, by king John of France, it is expressly said, "that the heirs shall succeed to the honours:" now a daughter is an heir-ess.

The question concerning male and female fiefs, the right of liege homage or simple homage; the confusion among those lords who held different lands in vassalage of two lords paramount at a time, and among the vassals of lords paramount who contested the supreme demesne; and a thousand difficulties of the like nature, gave rise to numberless processes, which could be decided only by the force of arms. The fortunes and possessions of private citizens were still in a more unhappy situation.

What must be the situation of that vassal, whose lord is himself subject to another, who holds of a third! He must be involved in suits in almost every court, and lose all he is worth before he can obtain a final decree. It is certain that the people never voluntarily made choice of this form of government; nor is that country worthy to be inhabited, where all degrees and conditions are not equally subjected to the laws.

C H A P. LXXXIV.

OF CHARLES VIII. and of the State of EUROPE, when that Prince undertook the Conquest of NAPLES.

LEWIS XI. left his son Charles VIII. a child of fourteen years of age, weak in body, and unimproved in mind, master of the finest and most powerful kingdom in Europe. But he left him at the same time a civil war, which is almost the inseparable attendant upon

upon a minority. The young king was indeed no longer a minor by Charles V.'s law : but he was still so by nature. His eldest sister Anne, wife to Baujeu, duke of Bourbon, was left regent by her father's will, and is said to have been very worthy of this high post. Lewis, duke of Orleans, first prince of the blood, and afterwards that Lewis XII. whose memory is still so dear, began by being the scourge of the kingdom to which he afterwards proved the tenderest parent. In the first place, his rank of first prince of the blood, had been so far from procuring him any share in the government, that it had not even given him the right of precedency over those peers who were of more ancient creation. On the other hand, it seemed very extraordinary, that a woman, who was by law declared incapable of ascending the throne, should nevertheless reign under another name. These considerations excited Lewis of Orleans, who was of an ambitious temper, (as the most virtuous frequently are) to raise a civil war against the king his master, in order to be made his guardian.

The parliament of Paris then found, for the first time, of how much consideration it might be during a minority. The duke of Orleans applied in person to the courts, for an order to alter the administration. La Vaquerie, the first president, who was an able lawyer, made him answer, that the parliament had nothing to do either with the finances or the government of the state, which belonged to the general states, whom the parliament did not represent.

This reply proves, that the city of Paris at that time was in full tranquillity, and that the parliament was in the interest of Madame de Baujeu. A civil
 1488 war now broke out in the provinces, and especially in that of Brittany, where the old duke Francis II. espoused the cause of the duke of Orleans. A battle was fought near St. Aubin in Brittany ; and here it must be observed, that, in the army of the Bretons and the duke of Orleans, there were between four and five hundred English, notwithstanding the troubles which then distracted that country, and drained it of its soldiers. The English have seldom stood
 neuter

neuter when France was to be attacked. The rebel army was defeated by that great general Lewis de la Trimouille, who took their chief, the duke of Orleans, prisoner, who afterwards came to be his sovereign. Lewis may be reckoned the third king of the Capet family who had been taken prisoner in battle, and he was not the last. The duke of Orleans continued prisoner near three years in the tower of Bourges, till Charles VIII. went in person to deliver him 1491 from thence. The manners of the French were much milder than those of the English, who, harraffed with continual civil wars at that time, made it their common practice to put to death by the hands of the executioner those whom they conquered in battle *.

The peace and greatness of France were at length happily established by the marriage of Charles VIII. who obliged the old duke of Brittany to give him his daughter to wife, with all his dominions in dowry. The princess Anne of Brittany, one of the most beautiful women of her age, had a passion for the duke of Orleans, who was still in the flower of his youth, and master of many amiable accomplishments; and who, by this civil war, found himself deprived at once of his liberty and his mistress.

Upon the marriages of princes, in Europe, depends the fate of their people. Charles VIII. who, during the life-time of his father, might have espoused the princess Mary, heiress of Burgundy, might now have had to wife the daughter of this Mary, and of Maximilian king of the Romans; and Maximilian on his side, who had lost his queen, Mary of Burgundy, had, not without reason, entertained hopes of obtaining Anne of Brittany for his second consort. He had even gone so far as to espouse her by proxy; and the count of Nassau had, according to the custom of those times, put one leg into the princess's bed, in the name of the king of the Romans. But this did not hinder the king of France

* See Chap. xciv.

from concluding his marriage; and he obtained the princess, together with Brittany for her portion, which has since been reduced to a province of France.

France was then in its zenith of glory, and nothing, but the many errors it was afterwards guilty of, could have prevented it from being the arbiter of Europe.

We may remember that the last count of Provence bequeathed his dominions to Lewis XI. † This count, in whom the house of Anjou became extinct, took the title of king of the two Sicilies, which his family had lost the possession of for a long time. This title he also left to Lewis XI. by the donation of the county of Provence. Charles VIII. determining not to wear an empty title, made all preparations for the conquest of Naples, and the dominion of all Italy.

Here we must stop, and take a view of the state of Europe towards the end of the fifteenth century, when these events took place.

C H A P. LXXXV.

The STATE of EUROPE, at the End of the fifteenth Century.

1493 **A**T this time died the emperor Frederic III. of the house of Austria, leaving the empire to his son Maximilian, who was in his father's life-time elected king of the Romans. But these kings of the Romans had no power in Italy, and that which was left them in Germany, was little more than that of a doge of Venice; besides this, the house of Austria was far from being formidable in itself. They may in vain shew the tomb of this emperor at Vienna, with this epitaph, "Here lies Frederic III. the pious and august, emperor, sovereign of Christendom, king

† See Chap. lxxx.

king of Hungary, Dalmatia, Croatia, archduke of Austria, &c." This only serves to shew the vanity of such inscriptions: Frederic never enjoyed any other thing appertaining to Hungary but the crown, ornamented with a few jewels, which he always kept locked up in his closet, and would never restore to his pupil Ladislaus, who was the true king of Hungary, nor to those whom the Hungarians afterwards chose for their sovereigns, and who defended them against the Turks. He was hardly possessed of half the province of Austria; his cousins had the rest; and as to the title of sovereign of Christendom, it is easy to see how well he deserved that. His son Maximilian had, besides the Netherlands left him by his father, the regency of the dominions of Mary of Burgundy, his wife; but he governed only in the name of his son Philip the Handsome. As to the rest, we know that he was called *Massimiliano acchi danari**; a surname which does not shew him to have been a prince of any great power.

England, which was still little better than a nation of savages, after having been long rent to pieces by the civil wars of the white and red roses, in the manner which we shall soon relate, had but just begun to breathe under its king Henry VII. who, after the example of Lewis XI. humbled the barons, and favoured the people.

OF SPAIN.

Of the unfortunate Reign of HENRY IV. surnamed the IMPOTENT; of ISABELLA and FERDINAND; the Taking of GRANADA, and the Persecution against the JEWS and MOORS.

THE Christian princes of Spain had always been at variance with each other. The race of Henry de Trastamare, the bastard usurper, (since we must

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call

* Or, Maximilian the Moneyless.

call things by their proper names) still continued to reign in Castile, and an usurpation of a more singular kind laid the foundation of the Spanish grandeur.

Henry IV. one of the descendants of Transamare, who began his unhappy reign in 1454, was totally enervated by his pleasures. Never can a court be entirely given up to debaucheries, but revolutions, or at least seditions, must be the consequences. Donna Juana, his queen, whom we shall call by this name, to distinguish her from his daughter the princess Joan, and several other princesses of the same name, was a daughter of Portugal: she took not the least pains to conceal her gallantries, and few women ever carried on their amours with less regard to decency. Henry IV. passed his time with his wife's lovers, and these diverted themselves with the king's mistresses. In short, every thing conspired to set the Spaniards an example of the greatest effeminacy and most consummate debauchery. The administration being so weak, the malecontents, who make the majority at all times, and in all countries, became very numerous in Castile. This kingdom was then governed as France, England, Germany, and all the other monarchical states in Europe had for a long time been. The vassals shared in the sovereign authority; and if the bishops were not, like those of Germany, sovereign princes, they were lords and great vassals, the same as in France.

An archbishop of Toledo, named Carillo, with several other bishops, headed the party against the king; and the same disorders were renewed in Spain which had afflicted France in the reign of Lewis the Feeble; Germany under a number of its emperors, and which we shall soon see appear again in France under Henry III. and desolate England in the reign of Charles I.

The rebels, now grown powerful, deposed 1465 their king in effigy; a ceremony which had never before entered into the heads of any faction. They erected a great stage in the plain of Avila, upon which was placed a sorry wooden figure, representing Henry IV. dressed in his robes and other ensigns of royalty. To this figure they read the sentence

ence of deposition, after which the archbishop of Toledo took off the crown, another person the sword, and a third took away the sceptre; they then, from the same stage, proclaimed a young brother of Henry's, named Alphonso, king in his stead. This farce was followed by all the horrors of civil war, which did not cease even after the death of the young prince, on whom the conspirators had bestowed the kingdom. The archbishop and his party declared the king impotent, at the very time that he was surrounded by mistresses; and, by a proceeding unheard of in any state, pronounced his daughter Joan a bastard, and born in adultery*.

Several of the grandees on this occasion laid claim to the crown; but the rebels agreed to acknowledge the king's sister Isabella, a princess of seventeen years of age, sooner than submit to one of their equals; and chose rather to lay the kingdom waste in the name of a young queen, who had as yet no interest, than to raise up any person to be their master.

The archbishop, who then had made war against his king, in the name of the infant, now continued to carry it on in the name of the infanta; and Henry could not extricate himself out of all these troubles, nor remain quiet upon his throne, till he had signed one of the most shameful treaties that had ever 1468 been extorted from a sovereign; by which he acknowledged his sister Isabella, as the only lawful heiress to his kingdom, in prejudice to the undoubted rights of his own daughter Joan: and at this price he purchased of his rebellious subjects the empty title of king.

But, in order to complete their work, it was necessary to provide the young princess Isabella a husband able to defend her claim. For this purpose they cast their eyes on Ferdinand, heir to the crown of Arragon, a prince nearly of the same age with Isabella. The archbishop married

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* The whole nation was so well convinced of the king's impotence, and that this child was the daughter of don Bertrand de la Cueva, that they bestowed upon her the name of Bertraneja.

married them privately ; and this marriage, concluded under such fatal auspices, proved nevertheless the foundation of the Spanish greatness. At first it revived all the former divisions, civil wars, fraudulent

1469 treaties, and those outward reconciliations which serve only to augment a mutual hatred.

Henry, after having once more settled matters on a quiet footing, was attacked with a violent disorder

1474 at an entertainment given him by one of these reconciled enemies, and died soon after.

He vainly bequeathed at his death his kingdom to his daughter Joan, and swore in vain that she was his lawful daughter ; neither his death-bed oaths, nor the asseverations of his queen, availed aught against the party of Isabella and Ferdinand (afterwards surnamed the Catholic) king of Arragon and Sicily. They did not live together like man and wife, in the common possession of their estates, under the husband's direction, but like two monarchs in close alliance. They neither loved nor hated each other, were seldom in company together, had each a separate council, and were frequently jealous of each other in the administration : the queen found a still greater subject of jealousy in the infidelity of her husband, who filled all the great posts in the state with his bastards : but they were both inseparably united in their common interests, always acting upon the same principles, always having the words religion and piety in their mouths, and wholly taken up with their ambitious views. In short, the rightful heiress Joan, was unable to withstand their united forces ; at length her uncle, don Alphonso, king of Portugal, who was desirous of espousing her, took up arms in her favour.

But the conclusion of all these efforts and

1479 troubles was, that this unfortunate princess ended that life in a convent, which was destined to a throne.

Never was injustice better coloured, succeeded more fortunately, or was justified by a more daring and prudent conduct. Isabella and Ferdinand established such a power in Spain as had never been known since the restoration of the Christians. The Moors were now in possession

possession only of Granada, and drew near their ruin in that part of Europe, while the Turks seemed on the point of subduing the other. The Christians had lost Spain in the beginning of the eighth century, by their mutual discords and divisions; and the same cause drove the Moors at length out of Spain.

Boabdilla, nephew to Alboacen, king of Granada, engaged in rebellion against him. Ferdinand the Catholic, took every opportunity of fomenting this civil war, and of supporting the nephew against the uncle; by this means to weaken both the one and the other. Soon after the death of Alboacen, he fell upon his ally Boabdilla, with the united forces of Arragon and Castile. It cost him six years to conquer this Mahometan kingdom. At length he came and laid siege to the city of Granada, which held out against him for eight months. Queen Isabella came thither in person to share in her husband's triumph. Boabdilla surrendered upon conditions which shewed that he was yet able to defend his capital: for it was stipulated, that nothing should be attempted against the estates, lands, liberties, or religion of the Moors; that the prisoners taken from them should be restored without ransom; and that the Jews, who were comprehended in the same treaty, should enjoy the same privileges.

Boabdilla then came out of the city, and went to present the keys to Ferdinand and 1491
Isabella, who treated him like a king for the last time.

Cotemporary writers who have related this event, tell us, that the Moorish king shed tears when he looked back upon the walls of that city, which had been built by the Mahometans near 500 years, was full of inhabitants and riches, adorned with that stupendous palace of the Moorish kings, in which were the finest baths in Europe, and a number of magnificent and spacious apartments, supported upon an hundred pillars of alabaster. Perhaps the very luxury, the loss of which he so much regretted, had been the instrument of his ruin. He retired into Africa, and there ended his days.

Ferdinand was considered in Europe as the avenger of the Christian religion, and the restorer of his country. From that time he was called king of Spain: and in fact, being master of Castile by right of marriage, of Granada by conquest, and of Arragon by birth, he wanted only Navarre, which he got possession of in the end. He had several warm disputes with France about Cerdagne and Roussillon, which had been pledged to Lewis XI. It may be judged whether, as king of Sicily, he could without jealousy behold Charles VIII. preparing to pass into Italy, in order to dispossess one of the house of Arragon, then settled on the throne of Naples.

We shall soon see in what manner the consequences of so natural a jealousy broke forth; but, previous to entering into the quarrels of princes, you are always desirous to observe the fate of the people. You see that Ferdinand and Isabella did not find the kingdom of Spain in the condition it was afterwards under Charles V. and Philip II. The mixture of antient Visigoths, Vandals, Africans, Jews, and Aborigines, had for a long time laid waste the land of which they disputed the possession, and it did not grow fruitful till it came into the hands of the Mahometans. The Moors, after they were conquered, became farmers to their conquerors, and the Christians of Spain were wholly maintained by the labours of their antient enemies. They had no manufactures of their own, and as little trade; they were hardly acquainted with the common necessaries of life: they had little or no furniture in their houses, no inns on their roads, no conveniencies for lodging strangers in their towns; and the use of fine linen was for a long time unknown to them, and even that of the coarser kind was very scarce. All their trade, both foreign and domestic, was carried on by the Jews, who were become absolutely necessary in a nation which knew only the use of arms.

When, towards the end of the fifteenth century, they began in Spain to enquire into the causes of the wretchedness of the country, it was found that the Jews had accumulated to themselves, either by trade or usury, all the money in the nation;

nation; and upon a computation there appeared to be no less than one hundred and fifty thousand of this foreign nation amongst them, who were at once so odious and so necessary to the Spaniards. A number of the *grandees*, who had nothing left but their titles, had married into Jewish families, as the only means of repairing the losses they had sustained by their prodigality; and they made the less scruple of such an alliance, as it had for a long time been customary for the Christians to intermarry with the Moors. It was therefore debated in the king and queen's council, by what means the nation might be delivered from this underhand tyranny of the Jews, after having shaken off that of the Mahometans. At length they came to a resolution, in the year 1492, to drive all the Jews out of the kingdom, and share their spoils. Accordingly they were allowed only six months to dispose of their effects, which they were consequently obliged to part with at a very low price. They were furthermore forbid, upon pain of death, to carry with them either gold, silver, or jewels. In consequence of this ordinance, no less than thirty thousand Jewish families left the kingdom of Spain, which, at a computation of five persons in each family, amounts to one hundred and fifty thousand souls. Part retired into Africa, and part into Portugal and France, and several returned back, under pretence of embracing the Christian religion. They had been expelled the kingdom for the sake of getting possession of their riches, and they were received again for the sake of those they brought back with them; and it was principally on their account that the tribunal of the inquisition was set up, that upon the least attempt to exercise any act of their own religion, they might be proceeded against juridically, and their possessions forfeited. No such treatment is offered in India to the Banyans, who are exactly in that country what the Jews are in Europe, a people separated from all the other nations by a religion as antient as the annals of the world, but united with them by the necessity of commerce, of which they are the factors, and by which they acquire as great riches as the Jews do amongst us. These Banyans

are not hated, either by Mahometans, Christians, or Pagans; whereas the Jews are held in execration by all nations amongst whom they are admitted. Some Spanish writers pretend that this nation was grown formidable; they were certainly hurtful to the Spaniards, by the immense profits they made of them, but they were not a warlike people, and therefore there was nothing to fear from them. The Spaniards feigned to be alarmed at what was only a piece of vanity in the Jews, namely, their having endeavoured long before the Christians, to form a settlement upon the southern coasts of the kingdom. It is certain, that they had for time immemorial flocked in great numbers into the province of Andalusia: now they had attempted to cloak this fact under a thousand idle and fabulous notions, which have always prevailed among these people, the more sensible part of whom always confine themselves to business, and leave rabbinism to those who have nothing better to do. The Spanish rabbins had written a great deal to prove that a colony of Jews flourished in these parts in the time of king Solomon, and that the inhabitants of ancient Bætica paid a tribute to him: they endeavoured to support this assertion by a number of false medals and inscriptions. This piece of deceit, with others of a more essential kind of which they were accused, contributed not a little to their disgrace.

From this time began in Spain and Portugal, the distinction between old and new Christians, or those families which had intermarried with Jews, and those which had made alliances with Moors.

Nevertheless the temporary profit which accrued to the state, from the violence offered to the Jews, soon deprived it of the certain revenues which these people used to pay into the royal treasury. This deficiency continued to be severely felt till the Spaniards made themselves masters of the riches of the new world. However, they provided against this inconvenience as much as might be by the help of bulls: that granted by pope Julius II. in 1509, called the Cruzado, brought more money into the government than all the taxes it had laid upon the Jews. Every private person was obliged to

to purchase one of these bulls, for the permission to eat meat in Lent, and on Fridays and Saturdays throughout the year. No one who went to confession could receive absolution without first shewing this bull to the priest. They afterwards fell upon the invention of the bull of composition, by virtue of which a person was allowed to keep any thing he had stolen, provided he did not know the owner. Such superstitious practices are certainly as bad as any thing of the kind with which they reproached the Hebrews. Folly, infatuation, and vice, are in every country a part of the public revenue.

The form of absolution given to those who purchased this bull, is not unworthy a place in this general picture of the customs and manners of mankind. "By the authority of Almighty God, of St. Peter and St. Paul, and of our most holy father the pope, to me committed, I grant you the remission of all your sins, confessed, forgotten, unknown; and from the pains of purgatory.

The Mahometans underwent the same treatment from Isabella, or rather from her minister, cardinal Ximenes, as the Jews had done: great numbers of them were forced to become Christians, notwithstanding the articles of capitulation at Granada, and were sent to the stake if they turned again to their own religion. This drove as many Moors out of the kingdom as it had done Jews; nor do we lament the fate of either the Arabs or the Hebrews, the one having so long held Spain in subjection, and the others having for a still longer time continued to plunder it.

About this time the Portuguese first emerged from their obscurity; and, notwithstanding the ignorance of those ages, began to merit a glory as lasting as the universe, by the great change they wrought in the commerce of the world, which was the fruit of their discoveries. The Portuguese were the first of all the modern nations who navigated on the Atlantic Ocean, and are indebted only to themselves for the discovery of the passage round the Cape of Good Hope, whereas the Spaniards owe the discovery of America to foreigners. But it was to one man only, namely, the infant don Henry,

Henry, that the Portuguese are indebted for that great undertaking, against which they at first so loudly murmured. Whatever has been done either great or noble in the world, has been brought about wholly by the genius and courage of a single man, who has dared to oppose the prejudices of the multitude.

Portugal was employed in its great navigations and successes in Africa, and took no part in the events of Italy, which alarmed the rest of Europe.

OF ITALY.

I Shall now set before you the powers, the interests, and the manners of the several nations, from the mountains of Dauphiné to the extremity of Italy.

The dominions of Savoy, which were not then so extensive as they are at present, as containing neither Montferrat nor Saluca, and being destitute both of money and commerce, was not looked upon as a barrier. Its sovereigns were attached to the house of France, which had lately, during their minority, disposed of the government; and the passage of the Alps was left open.

From Piedmont we descend into the territories of Milan, the most fertile country of Hither Italy. This as well as Savoy was an imperial principality, but powerful and altogether independent of a feeble empire. This state, after having belonged to the Viscontis, passed into the hands of a peasant's bastard, a great man himself, and the son of a great man. This peasant was Francis Sforza, who by his own merit rose to be constable of Naples, and one of the most powerful noblemen in Italy. His bastard son, was one of the Condottieri, and chief of these disciplined banditti, who sold their service to the popes, the Venetians, and the Neapolitans. He made himself master of Naples in the middle of the fifteenth century, and some time afterwards of Genoa, which had formerly been so flourishing a republic, and which, after having sustained nine successive wars with Venice, was now fluctuating from one

one state of slavery to another. It had offered itself to the French in the reign of Charles VI. and had afterwards revolted : it then acknowledged the authority of Charles VII. in 1458, and again shook off his yoke. It would next have submitted to Lewis XI. but that monarch returned for answer, that it might give itself to the devil, for he would have nothing to do with it. After all, in 1464, it was obliged to submit to Francis Sforza, duke of Milan.

Galeas Sforza, the son of this bastard, was assassinated in the cathedral church of Milan 1476 on St. Stephen's day. I mention this circumstance, which otherwise would be frivolous, because here it is of importance ; for the assassins loudly invoked St. Stephen and St. Ambrose to inspire them with sufficient courage to murder their prince. Poisonings, assassinations, and superstition, were the distinguishing characteristics of the Italians in those days, who, though well versed in the arts of revenge, knew not how to fight, consequently the number of poisoners far exceeded that of good soldiers. The son of this unfortunate Galeas Sforza, while yet an infant, succeeded him in the duchy of Milan, under the guardianship of his mother, and the chancellor Simonetta. But his uncle Ludovico Sforza, or Lewis the Moor, drove the mother out of the kingdom, put the chancellor to death, and soon after poisoned his nephew.

It was this Lewis the Moor who entered into a treaty with Charles VIII. to favour the descent of the French in Italy.

Tuscany, a country less beholden to the gifts of nature, was to Milan what the antient Attica was to Bæotia ; for within the last century Florence had signalized itself, as we have already seen, by its attention to commerce and the liberal arts. The family of Medicis were at the head of this polite nation, than whom no house ever acquired supreme power by a more just title. It obtained it by mere dint of beneficence and virtue. Cosmo de Medicis, born in 1389, was a private citizen of Florence, who lived without seeking for titles ; but acquired by commerce a fortune equal to the greatest monarchs

monarchs of his time. He employed his great wealth in relieving the poor, in making himself friends among the rich by lending money to them, in adorning his country with superb edifices, and in inviting to Florence the men of learning among the Greeks who were driven from Constantinople. His advice was for the space of thirty years the law of the republic. His only arts were his good deeds, which are of all others the most just. After his death his papers shewed that he had lent immense sums to his countrymen, of which he had never demanded the least payment, and

1464 he died universally regretted by his very enemies. The people of Florence with one consent adorned his tomb with the glorious epitaph of father of his country, a title which not one of the many kings we have seen pass in review were ever able to obtain.

His reputation procured his descendents the chief authority in Tuscany. His son took the administration under the name of Gonfalonier. His two grandsons, Laurence and Julian, who were masters of the republic, were set upon in the church by a band of conspirators at the time of the elevation of the host.

1478 Julian died of the wounds he received, but Laurence made his escape. Florence resembled Athens, both in government and genius. It was at one time aristocratical, and at another popular, and dreaded nothing so much as tyranny.

Cosmo de Medicis might be compared to Pisistratus, who, notwithstanding his great power, was ranked in the number of sages. The sons of this Cosmo resembled those of Pisistratus, who were assassinated by Harmodius and Aristogiton. Laurence escaped from his murderers, and so did one of the sons of Pisistratus, and both of them lived to revenge the death of his brother: but that happened in Florence which did not at Athens; the chiefs of religion were concerned in this bloody conspiracy. Pope Sixtus V. planned it, and the archbishop of Pisa set it on foot.

The people of Florence revenged this cruel act on those who were found guilty; and the archbishop himself

self was hanged at one of the windows of the public palace. Laurence, thus revenged by his fellow citizens, made himself beloved by them during the rest of his life. He was surnamed the father of the muses, a title not equal indeed to that of father of his country, but which shewed that he was so in fact. It was a thing no less admirable than foreign to our manners to see this citizen, who always addicted himself to commerce, selling with one hand the produce of the Levant, and with the other supporting the weight of the republic; entertaining factors and ambassadors; opposing an artful and powerful pope, making peace and war, standing forth the oracle of princes, and the cultivator of the Belles Lettres, furnishing amusements for the people, and giving a reception to the learned Greeks of Constantinople. His son Peter held the supreme authority in Florence, at the time that the French made their expedition to Naples; but with much less credit than either his predecessors or descendents.

Of the PAPAL STATE.

THE papal state was not then what it now is; nor yet what it would have been, had the popes been in a condition to profit by the donations which it was thought Charlemagne had left them, and those which they were really entitled to by the gift of the countess Matilda. The house of Gonzaga was in possession of Mantua, for which it did homage to the empire. Several lords under the titles of vicars of the empire, or of the church, were in peaceable fruition of those fine territories which now belong to the popes. Perugia belonged to the family of the Bailloni; the Bentivoglios had Bologna; the Polentini Ravenna; the Manfredi Faenza; and Sforzas Pezaro; the Rimerios were in possession of Imola and Forli; the house of Este had for a long time governed in Ferrara; the Picos in Mirandola, and the Roman barons had great power in Rome; whence they were called the pope's hand-cuffs. The families of Colonna and Urfini, the Conti, and the Savilli,

Savilli, who were the principal barons, and antient possessors of the most considerable demesnes, divided the Roman state by their continual disputes, like the great lords of France and Germany, who waged war with each other at the time that those kingdoms were in their feeble state. The people of Rome, who were very fond of processions, and for ever crying out for plenary indulgences from their popes, frequently mutinied upon their deaths, rifled their palaces, and were ready to throw their bodies into the Tiber, as was particularly the case at the death of pope Innocent VIII.

After his decease Roderigo Borgia, a Spaniard, was chosen pope, and took the name of Alexander VI. a man whose memory has been made execrable by the cries of all Europe, and the pen of every historian. The protestants, who in the next age separated themselves from the church of Rome, added still more to the measure of this pontiff's iniquities. We shall see presently whether more crimes were laid to his charge than he deserved. The exaltation of this man to the papal chair sufficiently shews the manners and spirit of his age, so different from those of the present. The cardinals who elected him must have known that he at that time openly brought up five children which he had by Vanoza. They must necessarily have foreseen that all possessions, honours, and authority, would be in the hands of his family, and yet they chose him for their master. The chiefs of the faction in the conclave sold for a trifling sum, not only their own interests but those of all Italy.

OF VENICE.

VENICE extended its dominions on the terra firma from the lake of Como to the middle of Dalmatia. The Turks had despoiled it of all which it had formerly taken in Greece from the Christian emperors; but it still retained the large island of Candia, and afterwards acquired that of Cyprus in 1437, by the donation of its
last

last queen, daughter to Marco Cornaro, the Venetian. But the industry of its inhabitants was of greater value than those two islands, or the whole of its demesnes upon terra firma. The wealth of other nations rolled in upon it, through all the various channels of commerce; all the princes of Italy stood in awe of this republic, and she herself was in dread of an invasion from France.

Of all the governments in Europe, that of Venice was alone regular, stable, and uniform. It had but one essential fault, which indeed was not thought such by the senate; which was, that it wanted a counterpoise to the power of the patricians, and proper encouragement for the common people. No private citizen of Venice could hope to rise by his merit, as in antient Rome. The chief excellence of the English government, since the house of commons has had a share in the legislature, consists in this counterpoise, and in leaving the way to honours and dignities open to all such who are deserving of them.

OF NAPLES.

AS to the Neapolitans, they were always a weak and fickle people, alike incapable of governing themselves, of chusing a king, or being contented with him they had; and always at the mercy of the first power who chused to invade them with an army.

Old King Fernando reigned at that time in Naples. He was a bastard of the house of Arragon. Illegitimacy at that time was no bar to the throne. A bastard race wore the crown of Castile; and a bastard, descendent of Don Pedro the Severe, governed Portugal. Fernando therefore reigned by this title in Naples; he had received the investiture of that kingdom from the pope, in prejudice to the heirs of the house of Anjou, who still asserted their rights. But he was neither beloved by the pope, his lord paramount, nor by his own subjects, and died in 1434, leaving behind him an unfortunate family, whom Charles VIII. deprived of a throne

throne which he could not keep; and whom he afterwards, to his own misfortune, continued to persecute.

C H A P. LXXXVI.

Of the Conquest of NAPLES. Of ZIZIM, brother to BAJAZET II. Of Pope ALEXANDER VI. &c.

CHARLES VIII. his council, and his young courtiers, were so intoxicated with the project of conquering the kingdom of Naples, that they restored to Maximilian, Artois and the Franche Comté, which had been taken from his wife; and returned Cerdagne and Roussillon to Ferdinand the Catholic, with the remission of three hundred thousand crowns, which he owed, on condition that he should not interrupt the progress of the war. In this they never reflected, that twelve villages added to a state, are of greater value than a kingdom situated at four hundred leagues distance from it. They committed likewise another error in trusting to the Catholic king.

At length Charles VIII. entered Italy: he
 1494 undertook this expedition with only sixteen hundred men at arms, who with their archers, made a squadron of five thousand horsemen, heavily armed; two hundred gentlemen of his guard, five hundred light-horse, six thousand French foot, and the like number of Swiss; and so badly provided with money, that he was obliged to borrow upon his march, and even to pledge the jewels which had been lent him by the duchess of Savoy. Nevertheless, this army produced consternation and submission wherever it came. The Italians were amazed to see such heavy artillery drawn by horses, they having only been accustomed to small brass culverins drawn by oxen. The Italian gendarmerie was composed of spadassins or bravos, who hired themselves at an extravagant price to the Condottieri, who sold their services at a still more exorbitant rate to those

those princes who stood in need of their dangerous assistance. These chiefs took such names as were most likely to strike terror into the ignorant people, such as *taille-cuisse*, *fier-à bras*, *fracassé*, or *sacripend*; i. e. Slash-thigh, Arm-strong, Havock, &c. They were all afraid of losing their men, therefore only pursued the enemy, and never came to blows: those who kept the field were the conquerors. Indeed, in these times there was much more blood shed in private revenge, among citizens, and in conspiracies, than in battle. Machiavel tells us, that in one of the battles fought at this time, there was only one horseman killed, and he was trod to death by the croud.

The prospect of a serious war, therefore, filled them with dread, and not one dared to appear. Pope Alexander VI. the Venetians, and Lewis the Moor, duke of Milan, who had invited Charles into Italy, endeavoured to throw obstacles in his way as soon as he entered it. Peter de Medicis, who was obliged to ask his protection, was for so doing expelled the republic, and retired to Venice, from whence he never dared to venture forth, though assured of the king's protection; which he did not think sufficient to secure him against the private revenge of his countrymen.

The king entered the city of Florence as its lord, and delivered Sienna from the Tuscan yoke, to which it was soon afterwards again obliged to submit. He then marched to Rome, where Alexander VI. in vain intrigued against him, and he entered that city as a conqueror. The pope had taken refuge in the castle of St. Angelo; but as soon as he saw the French cannon pointed against those feeble ramparts, he capitulated, and craved for mercy.

It cost him only a cardinal's hat to make his peace with the king. The president Brissonet, 1495 who from a lawyer was become an archbishop, persuaded the king to this accommodation, by which he gained the purple. A king is often well served by his subjects who are cardinals, but seldom by those who are in pursuit of that dignity. The king's confessor was likewise in the secret. Charles, whose interest

terest it was to have deposed the pope, forgave him, and repented of it afterwards; and certainly never pontiff more deserved the indignation of a Christian prince. He and the Venetians had applied to the Turkish sultan Bajazet II. son and successor to Mahomet II. to assist them in driving Charles VIII. out of Italy. It was even asserted that this pope had sent Bozzo in quality of nuncio to the Ottoman Porte, and that this alliance between the pope and the sultan was purchased by one of those inhuman murders which are not committed without horror even in the seraglio of Constantinople.

The pontiff, by an extraordinary chain of events, had at that time in his possession the person of Zizim, or Gem, the brother of Bajazet. The manner in which this son of Mahomet II. fell into the hands of the pope is as follows:

Zizim, who was adored by the Turks, had disputed the empire with Bajazet, who was as much hated by them: but notwithstanding the young prince had the prayers of the people for him, he was defeated. In this disgrace he had recourse by an ambassador to the knights of Rhodes, now the knights of Malta. He was at first received by them as a prince to whom they stood bound in the laws of hospitality, and who might one day be of service to them; but soon afterwards they treated him as their prisoner. Bajazet paid these knights forty thousand sequins per ann. not to suffer Zizim to return again to Turkey. The knights conveyed him to one of their commanderies at Poitou, in France, called le Bourneuf. Charles VIII. had received at one time an ambassador from Bajazet, and a nuncio from pope Innocent VIII. Alexander's predecessor, relating to this valuable captive. The sultan claimed him as his subject, and the pope wanted to have possession of his person, as a pledge of safety for Italy against the attempts of the Turks. In the end, Charles sent Zizim to the pope. The pontiff received him with all the splendor and magnificence which the sovereign of Rome could shew to the brother of the sovereign of Constantinople. They would have obliged Zizim to kiss the pope's feet; but Bozzo, who was an eye-witness
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of the whole, assures us, that the Turk rejected this mark of submission with indignation. Paul Jovius says, that Alexander VI. sold Zizim's life in a treaty he made with Bajazet. The king of France, full of his vast projects, and certain of the conquest of Naples, wanted to become formidable to Bajazet, by having the person of this unhappy brother in his power. The pope, according to Paul Jovius, delivered him to Charles, but poisoned. It is not clearly determined whether this poison was given him by one of the pope's domestics, or by a secret emissary of the grand seignior. It was however publicly declared that Bajazet had promised the pope three hundred thousand ducats for his brother's head.

Prince Demetrius Cantemir says, that, according to all the Turkish annals, Zizim was murdered by his barber, who cut his throat, and that, in recompence, Bajazet afterwards made this barber his grand vizir. It is hardly probable that they would have made a barber general and prime minister. If Zizim had been murdered after this manner, Charles VIII. who sent his body to his brother, must certainly have discovered the nature of his death: and the writers of those times would have made mention of it: therefore prince Cantemir, and the accusers of Alexander VI. may be equally deceived. The public, through hatred to this pontiff, imputed to him all the crimes that it was possible for him to commit.

The pope, having taken an oath not to disturb the king in his conquests, was set at liberty, and appeared again as pontiff on the Vatican theatre. There, in a public consistory, the king appeared to pay him what is called the homage of obedience, assisted by John de Gannai, first president of the parliament of Paris, who certainly ought to have been elsewhere than at such a ceremony. The king then kissed the feet of the person whom two days before he would have condemned as a criminal; and, to compleat the scene, he served the pope at high mass. Guicciardin, a contemporary writer of great credit, assures us, that in the church the king sat below the cardinal dean. We must not there-
fore

fore be surprised that cardinal de Bouillon, dean of the sacred college, has in our time, upon the authority of these ancient customs, expressed himself thus, in a letter to Lewis XIV. "I am going to take possession of the first seat in the Christian world, next to the supreme."

Charlemagne had caused himself to be declared in Rome, emperor of the West. Charles VIII. was in the same city declared emperor of the East, but after a very different manner. One Paleologus, nephew to him who had lost the empire and his life, made an empty cession in favour of Charles VIII. and his successors, of an empire which could no longer be recovered.

After this ceremony Charles continued his progress towards Naples. On this occasion, Alphonso II. the new king, who was as much hated by his subjects as his father had been, being struck with dread at the approach of the French army, gave the world an example of a new kind of cowardice and pusillanimity. He fled privately to Messina, where he entered into the order of the Olivetian monks. His son Fernando, who became king upon his abdication, not being able to retrieve the public affairs, now rendered desperate by this rash action of his father's, and finding himself forsaken by his people, released them from their oath of allegiance, and retired to the small island of Ischia, about eighteen miles distant from Naples.

Charles being thus left master of the kingdom, and arbiter of Italy, made his entry 1496 into the city of Naples as a conqueror, without having hardly struck a blow: and now he assumed the premature titles of Augustus and emperor: for at this time almost all Europe was secretly endeavouring to prevent him from keeping the crown of Naples; and the pope, the Venetians, Lewis the Moor, duke of Milan, the emperor Maximilian, Ferdinand of Arragon, and Isabella of Castile, entered into a league together for that purpose, Charles ought to have foreseen this confederacy, and to have been in a condition to oppose it. He set out on his return for France just five months after his leaving it; and so great was his blindness,

ness, his contempt for the Neapolitans, or rather his weakness, that he left only five thousand French behind him to preserve his new conquests.

As he was upon his march back, he fell in with the confederate army of thirty thousand men, near the village of Fornova in Placentia, rendered famous by that day's action. He had not above eight thousand men with him. If he was beaten, he lost his liberty or his life; if he conquered, he only gained the advantage of a retreat. He now gave a proof of what he might have done in this expedition, had his prudence been equal to his courage. The Italians soon fled before him. In this engagement he did not lose above two hundred men, while the loss of the allies amounted to above four thousand. Such is in general the advantage which a disciplined army, though small in number, headed by their king, has over a raw and mercenary multitude. The Venetians reckoned as a victory the having plundered a part of the king's baggage; and carried his tent in triumph into their own country. Charles VIII. conquered only to secure his return to his kingdom; and left one half of his little army at Novarra, in the dutchy of Milan, where the duke of Orleans was quickly besieged.

The confederates might have attacked him a second time with great advantage; but they did not dare. "There is no withstanding, said they, *la furia Francese*." The French did exactly that in Italy, which the English had done in France. They conquered with inferiority of numbers, and they lost their conquests.

While the king was at Turin, every one was surprised to hear the chamberlain of pope Alexander VI. order the king of France, in his master's name, instantly to withdraw his troops from the territories of Milan and Naples, and repair to Rome to give an account of his conduct to the holy father, under pain of excommunication. This bravado would have been a subject of laughter, had not this pontiff's conduct in other respects furnished too serious matter of complaint.

The king at length returned to France, where he shewed as much remissness in preserving his conquests,

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as he had discovered eagerness in making them. Frederic, the uncle of Fernando the dethroned king of Naples, who became titular king after the death of his nephew, recovered the whole of his kingdom in less than a month's time, by the help of Gonsalvo of Cordova, called the Great Captain, whom Ferdinand the Catholic had sent at that time to his assistance.

The duke of Orleans, who soon after succeeded to the crown of France, was glad to be suffered to depart quietly from Novarra. At length there remained not the least trace of this torrent which had overspread Italy; and Charles VIII. whose glory had

1497 been so transient, died without issue at the age of twenty-eight; leaving his successor Lewis XII. to follow his example, and to repair his errors.

C H A P. LXXXVII.

OF SAVONAROLA.

BEFORE we proceed to examine how Lewis XII. maintained his rights in Italy, what became of that fine country rent by so many factions, and disputed by so many powers, and in what manner the popes formed that extensive state of which they are at present in possession, we owe some attention to an extraordinary fact which at that time exercised the credulity of all Europe, and displayed the full power of fanaticism.

There was at Florence a Dominican, named Jeronymo Savonarola, who was of those church-orators who think that a talent for speaking in the pulpit qualifies them for governing the nation, and one of those divines who, because they can explain the Apocalypse, think they are become prophets. He directed, he preached, he heard confessions, he wrote; and living in a free city, which was consequently filled with factions, he aimed at becoming the head of the people.

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As soon as it was known to the principal citizens of Florence that Charles VIII. meditated a descent upon Italy, this man took upon him to foretel it; and the people therefore believed him inspired. He inveighed against pope Alexander VI. he encouraged such of his countrymen as persecuted the family of Medicis, and bathed their hands in the blood of the friends to that house. No man had ever been in a greater degree of credit with the common people of Florence. He was become a kind of tribune amongst them, by having procured the artificers to be admitted into the magistracy. The pope and the Medicis family fought Savonarola at his own weapons, and sent a Franciscan friar to preach against him. There subsisted a more mortal hatred between the two orders of St. Francis and St. Dominic, than between the Guelphs and Gibellines. The cordelier succeeded so well, that he rendered his antagonist, the Dominican, odious. The two orders now let loose all the fury of invective against each other. At last a Dominican friar offered to undergo the trial of fire in vindication of Savonarola's sanctity. This was answered by a Franciscan friar, who offered to undergo the same trial to prove Savonarola an impostor and a profligate wretch. The people, eager for this spectacle, cried aloud for its being put in execution, and the magistracy was obliged to give orders for it. Every one had at that time fresh in mind the old fabulous story of the monk Aldobrandin, surnamed *Petrus igneus* or Peter the fiery, who, in the eleventh century, passed through two flaming piles of wood *; and the partizans of Savonarola made not the least doubt that God would do as much for a Jacobine friar as he had heretofore done for a Benedictine. The contrary faction entertained the like hopes in behalf of the cordelier.

At length the fires were lighted, and the two champions appeared in the midst of an innumerable croud of spectators. But when they came to take a cool view of the two piles in flames, they both began to tremble, and their fears suggested to them a common evasion.

VOL. III.

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See Chap. xxxv. Vol. I.

The Dominican would not enter the pile without the host in his hand, and the cordelier pretended that this was no article of the agreement. Both were obstinate, and mutually assisted each other in getting over this false step. In short, they did not exhibit the shocking farce they had proposed.

The people upon this, stirred up by the Franciscan party, would have seized upon Savonarola; and the magistracy ordered him to quit the city: but although he had the pope, the Medicis family, and the people, all against him, he refused to obey; upon which he was seized, and put to the torture seven times. By the extract of his confession we learn, that he acknowledged himself to be a false prophet and an impostor, who abused the secrets of confession, and those which were revealed to him by the society. Could he do otherwise than own himself an impostor? Is not every one who enters into cabals, under pretence of being inspired, an impostor? Perhaps he was moreover a fanatic. The human imagination is capable of uniting these two extremes, which appear so contradictory. If he had been condemned only thro' a motive of justice, a prison and severe penance had been sufficient punishments; but the spirit of party had a share in his sufferings. In short, he was sentenced, with two other Dominicans, to suffer in those flames which

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they had boasted to encounter. However, they were strangled before they were thrown into the fire. Savonarola's party did not fail to attribute a number of miracles to him after his death, the last shift of those who have been attached to an unfortunate chief. We must not forget that Alexander VI. after he was condemned, sent him a plenary indulgence.

C H A P. LXXXVIII.

OF PICO DE LA MIRANDOLA.

AS the adventure of Savonarola shews to what an height superstition was still carried, the disputations of the young prince of Mirandola may convince us of the flourishing state of the sciences in those times. These two different scenes passed at Florence and Rome among people then accounted the most ingenious in the world. From hence we may readily infer what darkness hung over the other nations of the earth, and how slow human reason is in its formation.

It will always be a proof of the superiority of the Italians in those times, that John Francis Pico de la Mirandola, a sovereign prince, was from his earliest years a prodigy of learning and memory *. Had he

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* Such another prodigy of learning appeared about the latter end of the sixteenth century, in the person of James Creighton, a native of Scotland, distinguished abroad by the epithet *Creightonius*, or *Critonius mirabilis*. He was related to the royal family of Stuart, and as remarkable for the beauty of his person as the strength of his genius. At the age of twenty-one he spoke ten languages fluently; understood philosophy, theology, mathematics, and the belles lettres; played excellently on several musical instruments; excelled in the exercises of riding, dancing, and fencing; was modest in his deportment, affable in his carriage, brave to a degree of heroism, and liberal above his circumstances. His country being involved in troubles on the score of religion, he went abroad, repaired to Venice, from whence he removed to Padua, where he engaged the admiration of the most learned doctors, in private companies as well as public disputations: for he supported public theses in all the sciences, and was looked upon as another Pico de Mirandola. At length, he went to Mantua at the request of the duke William de Gonzaga, to superintend the education of his son Vincent, who proved himself a wretch destitute of honour, courage, and humanity. Rankling with envy at the superior accomplishments of Creighton, he, during the carnival, went forth at night with two assassins, and attacked his governor, whom he found playing on the guitarre in the street. Creighton, thus assaulted, drew his sword, and defended himself so gallantly against all three, that

even lived in our days, he would have been esteemed a miracle of real erudition. He had so strong a passion for the sciences, that at length he renounced his principality, and retired to Florence, where he died in the year 1494, on the very day that Charles VIII. made his entry into that city. It is said, that at the age of eighteen he understood twenty-two different languages. This is certainly out of the ordinary course of nature. There is hardly any language which does not require above a year to learn it perfectly; therefore a young person, who, at so early an age as eighteen, knows two and twenty, must be suspected of understanding them very imperfectly, or of knowing only the elements at most, which is in fact knowing nothing at all.

It is still more extraordinary, that this prince, having studied so many languages, should at the age of twenty-four, be able to maintain theses at Rome on all the sciences without excepting one. In the front of his works we meet with one thousand four hundred general conclusions, on every one of which he offered to dispute. Now in all this immense study and learning, a few elements of geometry, and the doctrine of the sphere, are the only things which appear worthy of his great pains and application. All the rest only serve to shew the genius of the times. We meet with the *summum* of St. Thomas, an abridgement of the works of Albert, surnamed the Great, and a mixture of divinity and peripateticism. Here we read that the angels are infinite *secundum quid*; and that animals and plants are formed by a corruption animated by a productive virtue. The whole is in this taste, and indeed it is all that was taught

that the two assassins betook themselves to flight. Then he pushed the prince so hard, that he had no other way of saving his life but pulling off his masque. The governor no sooner recognised the face of his pupil than he begged pardon on his knee, and presented his sword to Vincent, who, like a perfidious coward, and ungrateful villain, plunged it into his heart; thus, by an almost unparalleled act of treachery, deprived the world of one of its greatest ornaments, who fell universally regretted in the twenty-second year of his age.

taught in the universities of those times. Thousands of pupils had their heads filled with these chimæras, and continued to frequent, for forty or fifty years, the schools where they were taught. The knowledge of all other nations was as trifling. Those who held the reins of government in the world were therefore very excusable in being ignorant of them, and Pico of Mirandola very unhappy in having spent his life, and shortened his days, in the pursuit of these grave supereries.

The number of those who, born with a real genius, cultivated by reading the best Roman authors, had escaped this general night of learning, were very inconsiderable after Dantè and Petrarch, whose works were better adapted for princes, statesmen, women, and men of fortune, who only seek for an agreeable amusement in reading; and these would have been more proper for the prince of Mirandola than the compilations of Albert the Great.

But he was carried away by a passion for universal knowledge; and this universal knowledge consisted in knowing by heart a few words upon every subject, which conveyed no kind of idea. It is difficult to comprehend how the same man who reasoned so justly and with so much nicety upon the affairs of the world and their several interests, could be satisfied with such unintelligible jargon in almost every thing else. The reason perhaps is, that mankind are fonder of appearing to know something, than to seek after knowledge; and when error has gotten the mastery of our minds during our tender age, we are at no pains to shake off its yoke, but rather strive to subject ourselves more to it. Hence it comes that so many men of real discernment and genius are so frequently under the dominion of popular errors.

Pico de la Mirandola wrote indeed against judicial astrology; but then, let us not mistake, it was only against the astrology practised in his time. He allowed of another kind, which, according to him, was the most ancient and true, and which he said had been neglected.

In his first proposition he expresses himself thus : " Magic, such as is now practised, and which is condemned by the church, cannot be founded on truth, because it depends on those powers which are enemies to truth." Now by these very words, contradictory as they are, it is evident that he admitted magic to be the work of devils, which was the general received opinion concerning it. Accordingly he affirms that there is no virtue in heaven or on earth but what a magician can make subservient to his purposes : and he proves that words are of efficacy in magic, because God made use of speech in arranging the several parts of the universe.

These theses made more noise, and were in greater reputation at those times, than the discoveries of Newton, or the investigations of the great Locke in our days. Pope Innocent VIII. caused thirteen propositions of this great body of doctrine to be censured ; a censure which resembled the decisions of those Indians who condemned the opinion of the earth's being supported by a dragon, because, according to them, none but an elephant was able to support it. Pico de la Mirandola drew up an apology for his propositions, in which he complains of those who had censured him, and says, that being in company with one of them, who were inveighing bitterly against the cabala, he asked him if he knew what was meant by the word cabala. A pretty question truly ! answered the schoolman ; does not every body know that he was an heretic, who wrote against Jesus Christ ?

At length it became necessary for pope Alexander VI. who at least had the merit of despising these frivolous disputes, to send him his absolution. It is remarkable that he acted in the same manner by Pico de la Mirandola and Savonarola.

C H A P. LXXXIX.

Of Pope ALEXANDER VI. and LEWIS XII. of
FRANCE.

POPE Alexander VI. was at that time engaged in two great designs, one was to restore to the pontifical demesnes the many territories which it was pretended they had been deprived of, and the other to procure a crown for his son Cæsar Borgia. Infamous as his conduct was, it did not in the least impair his authority, and the people of Rome raised no seditions against him. He was publicly accused of a criminal correspondence with his own sister Lucretia, whom he took away from three husbands, successively; the last of whom (Alphonso of Arragon) he caused to be assassinated, that he might bestow her in marriage on the heir of the house of Esté. These nuptials were celebrated in the Vatican by the most infamous diversions that debauch had ever invented for the confusion of modesty. Fifty courtezans danced naked before this incestuous family, and prizes were given to those who exhibited the most lascivious motions. The duke of Gandia and Cæsar Borgia, at that time archbishop of Valentia in Spain, and cardinal, were said to have publicly disputed the favours of their sister Lucretia. The duke of Gandia was assassinated in Rome, and Cæsar Borgia was suspected as the author of his death. The personal estates of the cardinals belong at their decease to the pope, and Alexander was strongly suspected of having hastened the death of more than one member of the sacred college, that he might become their heir; notwithstanding all which the people of Rome obeyed without murmuring, and this pontiff's friendship was sought by all the potentates of Europe.

Lewis XII. king of France, who succeeded Charles VIII. was more earnest than any other in seeking an alliance with Alexander: he had more reasons than one for this; he wanted to be divorced from his wife, the

daughter of Lewis XI. with whom he had consummated his marriage, and lived in wedlock for above two and twenty years, but without having had any children. No law, excepting the law of nature, could authorize such a separation ; and yet disgust and policy made it necessary.

Anne of Brittany, the widow of Charles VIII. still retained that inclination for Lewis XII. which she had felt for him when duke of Orleans ; and unless he married her, Brittany would be for ever lost to the crown of France. It was an antient but dangerous custom to apply to the court of Rome for permission to marry a relation, or to put away a wife ; for these kind of marriages or divorces having become necessary to the state, the tranquillity of a kingdom consequently depended upon the pope's manner of thinking ; and the popes were frequently enemies to France.

The other reason which united Lewis XII. to Alexander VI. was the desire he had to defend his fatal claim to the dominions of Italy. Lewis claimed the duchy of Milan in right of one of his grandmothers, who was a sister of a Visconti, who had been in possession of that principality ; but this claim was opposed by the exclusive right granted to Lewis the Moor by the emperor Maximilian, who had likewise married Lewis's niece.

The public feudal law was so changeable, that it could only be interpreted by the law of force. This duchy of Milan, the antient kingdom of the Lombards, was a fief of the empire, and it had not been determined whether it was a male or female fief, or whether the daughters had a right of inheritance. The grandmother of Lewis XII. who was daughter to Visconti duke of Milan, had by her marriage-contract only the county of Asti. This marriage-contract proved the cause of all the miseries of Italy, the disgraces of Lewis XII. and the misfortunes of Francis I. Almost all the Italian states were thus fluctuating in uncertainty, unable either to recover their liberty, or to determine what master they were to belong to.

The claim of Lewis XII. on Naples was the same as that of Charles VIII.

Cæsar

Cæsar Borgia, the pope's bastard, was charged with the commission of carrying the bull of divorce to France, and negotiating with the king on the measures relating to this conquest. Borgia did not leave Rome till he was assured of the duchy of Valentinois, a company of one hundred armed men, and a pension of twenty thousand livres, all which Lewis granted him, together with his promise to procure for him the king of Navarre's sister. Cæsar Borgia then, notwithstanding his being a deacon and archbishop, changed his ecclesiastical character for a secular one; and the pope, his father, granted a dispensation at one and the same time to his son to quit the church, and to the king of France to quit his wife. Matters were quickly agreed upon, and Lewis prepared for a fresh invasion of Italy.

In this enterprize he had the Venetians on his side, who were to have a share in the spoils of the Milanese. They had already taken Bressan and the country of Bergamo, and aimed at nothing less than the possession of Cremona, to which they had as much right as to Constantinople.

The emperor Maximilian, whose business it was to have defended the duke of Milan, his father-in-law and vassal, against France, his natural enemy, was not at that time in a condition to assist him in person. He could with difficulty make head against the Swiss, who had effectually driven the Austrians out of all the places they had been possessed of in their country. Maximilian therefore acted upon this occasion the feigned part of indifference.

Lewis XII. terminated amicably some disputes he had with this emperor's son, Philip the Handsome, father to Charles V. afterwards sovereign of the Low Countries; and this Philip did homage in person to France for the counties of Flanders and Artois. This homage was received by Guy de Rochefort, chancellor of France, in the following manner: The chancellor, seated and covered, held between his hands those of the prince joined together, who, standing uncovered, and without his sword and girdle, pronounced these words: "I do ho-

mage to Monsieur the king, for my peerages of Flanders Artois, &c."

Lewis having likewise renewed the treaties made with England by Charles VIII. and being now secure on all sides, at least for a time, made his army pass the Alps. It is to be remarked, that when he entered upon this war, instead of encreasing the taxes he diminished them, and this indulgence first procured him from his subjects the title of FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY. But at the same time he sold a number of the posts called Royal offices, especially those in the finances. Would it not then have been better to have imposed a regular and equal tax upon the people, than to have introduced a shameful venality in the posts of that country, of which he pretended to be the father? This custom of putting employs up to sale came from Italy: in Rome they had for a long time sold the places in the apostolic chamber, and it is but of late years that the popes have abolished this pernicious custom.

The army which Lewis XII. sent over the Alps, was not more considerable than that with which Charles VIII. had conquered Naples; but what must appear strange is, that Lewis the Moor, tho' only duke of Milan, Parma, and Placentia, and lord of Genoa, had an army altogether as strong as that of the king of France.

It was now seen for the second time what 1499 the *Furia Francese* could do against Italian cunning. The king's army in twenty days time made itself master of the state of Milan and of Genoa, while the Venetians occupied the territory of Cremona.

Lewis XII. after having conquered these beautiful provinces by his generals, made his entry into Milan, where he received the deputies from the Italian states, as a person who was their sovereign arbiter; but no sooner was he returned to Lyons, than that negligence which almost always succeeds impetuosity, lost the

French Milan, in the same manner as it had 1500 lost them Naples. Lewis the Moor, during this transient restoration, paid a gold ducat for the head of every Frenchman brought to him. Then

Lewis

Lewis XII. made another effort, and sent his general Lewis de la Tremouille to repair the former oversights, who again entered the duchy of Milan. The Swiss, who, since the death of Charles VIII. had made use of the liberty they had recovered, to dispose of their services to whomsoever would pay for them, were in great numbers among the soldiery of the French army, as well as in that of the Milanese. It is remarkable, that the dukes of Milan were the first princes who took the Swiss into pay. Maria Sforza set this example to the rest of the princes of Europe.

But on this occasion some captains of this nation, which had hitherto resembled antient Sparta, in its liberty, equality, poverty, and courage, stained the honour of their country by their greediness of money. The duke of Milan had trusted the care of his person to these people, preferably to his Italian subjects; but they soon proved how unworthy they were of such confidence, by entering into a composition with the French, and confining the duke in the city of Novarra; and all the favour he could procure at their hands was to march out of the city with them in a Swiss 1500 dress, and a halbert in his hand. In this disguise he marched through the ranks of the French army; but those who had so basely sold him quickly discovered him to the enemy, and he was taken prisoner and conducted to Pierre-en-Cise, and from thence to the same tower of Bourges, where Lewis XII. had been himself confined when duke of Orleans*; from thence he was afterwards removed to Loches, where he lived for ten years, not shut up in an iron-cage, as vulgar report has it, but treated with distinction, and allowed during the last years of his confinement to go any where within five leagues of the castle.

Lewis XII. now become master of Milan and Genoa, resolved to get possession of Naples also; but he feared that same Ferdinand the Catholic who had once before driven the French from that country.

Therefore

* See Chap. lxxxv..

Therefore as he had before joined with the Venetians for the conquest of Milan, and had given them part of the spoils, he now entered into an engagement, of the same nature with Ferdinand, for the conquest of Naples, that prince preferring a share in the spoils of his family to the honour of succouring it; and by this treaty he divided with France the kingdom of Frederic, the last king of the bastard branch of Arragon. His catholic majesty kept Apulia and Calabria to himself, and the rest went to France.

Pope Alexander VI. the ally of Lewis XII. engaged in this conspiracy against an innocent monarch, his feudatory, and granted to these two kings the investiture he had before bestowed upon the king of Naples. The catholic king sent the same general Gonsalvo de Cordova to Naples under pretence of assisting his relation, but in reality to overwhelm him. The French now invade the kingdom by sea and land, and the Neapolitans were not accustomed to risk their lives in defence of their kings.

The unfortunate monarch, betrayed by his
 1501 own relation, pressed by the French arms, and destitute of all resource, chose rather to put himself into the hands of Lewis XII. whom he looked upon as a generous enemy, than to trust to the catholic king, who had behaved with such perfidy towards him. Accordingly he demanded a passport from the French to leave his kingdom, and arrived in France with five gallies; there he lived upon a pension granted him by the king, of one hundred and twenty thousand livres, of our present money. Strange destiny for a sovereign prince!

Lewis XII. then had at one time a duke of Milan for his prisoner, and a king of Naples, a follower of his court, and his pensioner. The republic of Genoa was one of his provinces; his people were moderately taxed, and his kingdom the most flourishing in the world, and wanted nothing but the industry of commerce and the reputation of the liberal arts, which, as we shall hereafter see, were the peculiar lot of Italy.

C H A P. XC.

The Villanies of the Family of ALEXANDER VI. and of CÆSAR BORGIA. Sequel of Affairs between LEWIS XII. and FERDINAND the CATHOLIC. Death of Pope ALEXANDER.

ALEXANDER VI. effected that in a less degree, which Lewis XII. executed in the greater. He subdued the fiels in Romania by the arms of his son; every thing seemed to conspire to the aggrandizement of this son, who nevertheless had but little enjoyment of his good fortune, and laboured, without knowing it, for the church-patrimony.

There was not any one act of oppression, artifice, heroic courage, or villany, which Cæsar Borgia left unpractised. He made use of more art and dexterity to get possession of eight or ten little towns, and to rid himself of a few noblemen that stood in his way, than Alexander, Gengis Can, Tamerlane, or Mahomet, had done to subdue the greater part of the habitable globe. Indulgences were sold to raise troops; and we are assured by cardinal Bembo, that, in the territories of Venice alone, there were as many disposed of as amounted to one thousand six hundred gold marks. The tenth penny was levied on all the revenues of the clergy, under pretence of a war against the Turks, when, instead of that, it was only to carry on a slight skirmish near the gates of Rome.

First they seized upon the estates of the Colonnas and Savatelli, in the neighbourhood of Rome. Borgia next made himself master, partly by artifice, and partly by force, of Forli, Faenza, Rimini, Imola, and Plombino, and in the course of these petty conquests, perfidy, assassination, and poison, were the chief arms he used. He demanded, in the name of the pope, troops and artillery from the duke of Urbino, which he employed against this very duke, and drove him out of his dominions.

He

He drew the lord of Camerino to a conference, where he caused him to be strangled, together with two of his sons. He engaged, upon the surety of the most solemn oaths, four noblemen, viz. the dukes of Gravina, Oliverotto, Pagolo, and Vitelli, to come and treat with him near Senigallia, who fell into the ambush he had prepared for them; and Oliverotto and Vitelli were, by his orders, most inhumanly murdered. Could one suppose that Vitelli, when in the agonies of death, should beseech his murderer to obtain for him of the pope his father an indulgence *in articulo mortis*; and yet this is asserted by contemporary writers. Nothing can better shew the weakness of mankind, and the force of persuasion. If Cæsar Borgia had died before his father Alexander, of that poison which it is pretended they had prepared for the cardinals, and of which both of them drank by mistake; if Borgia had been the first, I say, who had died on this occasion, it would have been no matter of surprize to have heard him ask a plenary indulgence of his father.

Alexander VI. at the same time apprehended the relations of these unfortunate noblemen, and had them strangled in the castle of St. Angelo. What is truly deplorable is, that Lewis XII. the father of his people, countenanced these barbarities of the pope in Italy, and suffered him with impunity to shed the blood of these victims for the sake of being assisted by him in conquering Naples. Thus, what is called policy and the interest of the state made him unjustly partial to Alexander. What a policy, what an interest of state must that be, which led him to abet the oppressions of a man, by whom he was soon afterwards betrayed himself!

It was the destiny of the French to conquer Naples, and to be again expelled from it. Ferdinand the Catholic, who had betrayed the last king of Naples, who was his relation, did not prove more faithful to Lewis XII. who was his ally, but soon entered into an agreement with pope Alexander, to deprive that prince of his share in the partition.

Gonsalvo de Cordova, who so well merited the title of the Great Captain, though not of the good man, and
who.

who used to say that the web of honour should be slightly wove, first deceived the French, and then conquered them. It appears to me, that the French commanders have in general a greater share of that courage which honour inspires, than of the artifice necessary for conducting great affairs. The duke of Nemours, a descendent of Clovis, who was then at the head of the French army, challenged Gonsalvo to single combat; Gonsalvo replied by defeating his army several times, especially at Cerignola in Apulia, where Nemours 1503 himself was slain with four thousand of his men. It is said, that not above nine Spaniards were killed in this battle, an evident proof that Gonsalvo had made choice of an advantageous post, that Nemours wanted prudence, and that his soldiers were disheartned. The famous chevalier Bayard, in vain sustained alone, on a narrow bridge, the attack of two hundred of the enemy. His resistance was glorious, but it answered no purpose.

In this war they first found out a new method of destroying mankind. Peter of Navarre, a soldier of fortune, and a great general among the Spaniards, discovered the use of mines, and made the first trial of them upon the French.

Notwithstanding this ill success, the kingdom of France was at that time so powerful, that Lewis XII. found himself able to send three armies at once into the field, and a large fleet to sea. Of these three armies one was destined against Naples, and the two others for Roussillon and Fontarabia; but not one of them made any progress, and that sent against Naples quickly met with an entire defeat. At length Lewis XII. lost his share of the kingdom of Naples beyond all recovery.

Soon after, Italy was delivered from pope Alexander VI. and his son. All historians 1503 have taken pleasure in transmitting to posterity that this pope died of the poison he had prepared for several cardinals, whom he had invited to an entertainment. An end suitable to his life!

But

But there seems very little probability in this story. It is pretended, that being in urgent necessity of money, he wanted to inherit the estates of these cardinals; but it is proved, that Cæsar Borgia carried away one hundred thousand gold ducats out of his father's treasury after his death, consequently this want of money was not real. Besides, how came this mistake in the bottle of poisoned wine, which is said to have occasioned this pope's death, and brought his son to the brink of the grave? Men who have been long conversant with crimes of this nature, leave no room for making such mistakes. No person is mentioned as having made this confession; it would seem very difficult then to have come at the information. If when the pope died, this had been known to be the cause of his death, those who were intended to be poisoned, must have likewise come to the knowledge of it, and they would hardly have permitted Borgia to take quiet possession of his father's treasures. The people, who frequently hate their masters, and must have held such masters in particular execration, tho' they might have been kept under during Alexander's life-time, would undoubtedly have broke out at his death, would have disturbed the funeral obsequies of such a monster, and have torn his abominable son in pieces. In fine, the journal of the Borgia family says, that the pope at the age of 72 was attacked with a violent tertian, which soon turned to a continual fever, and proved mortal: this is not the effect of poison. It is said moreover, that the duke of Borgia caused himself to be sewed up in a mule's belly: I should be glad to know to what sort of poison a mule's belly is an antidote, and how this dying man could go to the Vatican, and fetch thence his father's money? Was he shut up in his mule when he carried it off?

It is certain, that after the pope's death there was a sedition in Rome; the Colonnas and the Ursini entered it in arms. This then was the most proper time for accusing the father and son of such a crime. In fine, pope Julius II. who was the sworn enemy of this family, and who had the duke of Borgia for a long time in his power, never imputed that to him which was so universally laid to his charge.

But,

But, on the other hand, how happens it that cardinal Bembo, Guicciardin, Paul Jovius, Tomasi, and so many other writers of those times, all agree in this strange accusation? Whence such a multitude of particular circumstances? And why do they pretend to give the very name of the poison made use of upon this occasion, which it seems was called Cantarella? To all this it may be answered, that it is no difficult matter to invent circumstances in an accusation, and that in one of so horrible a nature, it was necessary to give the colouring of probability.

Alexander VI. left behind him a more detestable memory in Europe, than Nero or Caligula in the Roman empire; the sanctity of his station adding a double weight to his guilt. Nevertheless, Rome was indebted to him for her temporal greatness; and it was this pontiff who enabled his successors to hold at times the balance of Italy.

His son lost all the fruits of his crimes, and the church profited by them. Almost all the cities which he had conquered, either by fraud or force, chose another master as soon as his father died; and pope Julius II. obliged him soon after to deliver up the rest, so that he had nothing left of all his wicked greatness. Every thing reverted to the holy see, who reaped more benefit from his wickedness than from the abilities of all its popes, assisted by the arms of religion.

Machiavel pretends that he had so well concerted his measures, that he must have been master of Rome and the whole ecclesiastical state after the death of his father, but that it was impossible for him to foresee, that he himself should be at the point of death at the very time that Alexander finished his life.

In a very short time he was abandoned by friends, enemies, allies, relations, and all the world; and he, who had betrayed so many, was himself at length betrayed; Gonfalso de Cordova, the Great Captain, with whom he had trusted himself, sent him prisoner to Spain. Lewis XII. took from him his duchy of Valentinois, and his pension. At length, having found means to escape from his prison, he took refuge in Navarre. Courage,
which

which is not a virtue, but a happy qualification, alike common to the wicked and the virtuous, did not forsake him in his distresses; and, while he was in his asylum, he still kept up to every part of his character: he carried on intrigues, and commanded in person the army of the king of Navarre, his father-in-law, during a war which that prince entered into at his advice to dispossess his vassals of their estates, as he himself had formerly done by the vassals of the holy see. He was slain fighting. A glorious end! whereas, we see in the course of this history, lawful sovereigns, and men of the strictest virtue, fall by the hand of the common executioner.

C H A P. XCI.

Sequel of the POLITICAL CONCERNS of
LEWIS XII.

THE French might possibly have repossessed themselves of Naples, as they had done of Milan; but the ambition of cardinal d'Amboise, prime minister to Lewis XII. was the occasion of losing that state for ever. Chaumont d'Amboise, archbishop of Rouen, so much admired for having only a single benefice, but who had at least another in the kingdom of France, which he governed without controul, wanted one of a more elevated rank. He aimed at the papacy after the death of Alexander VI. and he must have been elected, had his politics been equal to his ambition. He was master of great treasures. The army, which was going to invade Naples, was then at the gates of Rome: but the Italian cardinals persuaded him to remove it to a greater distance, pretending that the election would by that means appear more free, and consequently be of greater validity. He gave into the snare, drew off the army, and then cardinal Julian de la Rovere
1503 caused Pius III. to be elected, who lived not quite

quite a month to enjoy his new dignity. After his death cardinal Julian, called Julius II. was himself made pope, and the rainy season coming on, prevented the French from passing the Garigliano, and favoured the operations of Gonsalvo of Cordova. Thus cardinal d'Amboise, who nevertheless passes for a wise man, lost himself the tiara, and his master the kingdom of Naples.

A second fault of another kind with which he is reproached is the unaccountable treaty of Blois, by which the king's council, with one stroke of a pen, mutilated and destroyed the French monarchy. By this treaty the king gave his only daughter, by Anne of Brittany, in marriage to the grandson of the emperor, and Ferdinand the Catholic, his two greatest enemies; this young prince was the same who afterwards proved the scourge and terror of France, and all Europe, by the name of Charles the Fifth. Can it be supposed that he was to have, in dowry with his wife, all the entire provinces of Brittany and Burgundy, with an absolute cession on the part of France too, of all her rights to Milan and Genoa? and yet all this did Lewis XII. give away from his kingdom, in case he should die without issue male. There can be no excuse for a treaty of so extraordinary a kind, unless by saying that the king and the cardinal d'Amboise had no intention to keep it, and that in short Ferdinand had taught the cardinal the art of dissimulation.

Accordingly, we find that the general estates in an assembly held at Tours remonstrated 1506 against this fatal scheme. Perhaps the king, who began to repent of what he had done, was artful enough to get his kingdom to demand that of him which he did not dare to do of his own accord; or perhaps he yielded to the remonstrances of the nation from the pure dictates of reason. In fine, the heiress of Anne of Brittany was taken from the heir of Austria and Spain, as her mother had been from the emperor Maximilian. She was then married to the count of Angoulesme, afterwards Francis I. and Brittany, which had been twice annexed to the crown of France, and was twice very near slipping through its hands, was now incorporated

porated with it; and Burgundy likewise was still preserved.

Lewis XII. is accused of committing another error in joining in a league against his allies, the Venetians, with all their secret enemies. And it was an unheard-of event, that so many kings should conspire to destroy a republic, which not above three hundred years before, was a town of fishermen, who afterwards became illustrious and opulent merchants.

C H A P. XCII.

Of the League of CAMBRAY, and its Consequences.
Of Pope JULIUS II. &c.

POPE Julius II. who was a native of Savona, in the Genoeſe dominions, could not without indignation ſee his country under the French yoke. Genoa had lately made an effort to recover its antient liberty, for which Lewis XII. puniſhed that republic with more oſtention than rigour. He entered the city with his ſword drawn, and ordered all its charters to be burnt in his preſence. He afterwards cauſed a throne to be erected on an high ſcaffold, in the market-place, and obliged the principal citizens of Genoa to come to the foot of this ſcaffold, and there upon their knees to hear their ſentence, which was only to pay a fine of one hundred thouſand gold crowns: he then built a citadel to awe the city, which he called the bridle of Genoa.

The pope, who, like the reſt of his predeceſſors, was deſirous to drive all foreigners out of Italy, endeavoured to ſend the French over the Alps again; but he was willing, in the firſt place, to get the Venetians to join with him, and that they ſhould begin by reſtoring to him ſeveral cities, to which the holy ſee had pretenſions, the greateſt part of which had been wreſted from their poſſeſſors by Cæſar Borgia, duke of Valentinois: and the Venetians, ever watchful of their intereſts, had immediately after the death of Alexander VI. ſeized up-

on the towns of Rimini and Faenza, and several lands in Bologna, Ferrara, and the duchy of Urbino: these conquests they were determined to keep. Julius II. then made use of the French to oppose the Venetians, whom he had before endeavoured to arm against the French: nor did he think the French alone sufficient, but endeavoured to draw all the other powers of Europe into the league.

There was hardly one sovereign who had not some demand on the territories of this republic. The emperor Maximilian had unlimited pretensions as emperor; and besides, Verona, Padua, Vicenza, the marche of Trevizana, and Friuli, lay convenient for him. Ferdinand the Catholic, king of Arragon, might take back some sea-port towns in Naples, which he had pledged to the Venetians. This would have been an easy way of paying off his debts. The king of Hungary had pretensions to a part of Dalmatia. The duke of Savoy might also claim the island of Cyprus, in virtue of his alliance with the princes of that country, who were now extinct. The people of Florence likewise, as near neighbours, might come in for their share in these demands.

Almost all the powers, who were at enmity with each other, suspended their private disputes to join in the general league set on foot at Cambray, against the Venetians. The Turk, who was the natural enemy of this republic, but then at peace with her, was the only power who did not accede to this treaty. Never were so many kings in league against antient Rome. Venice was as rich as all the confederates together. To this resource she trusted, and that dissention which she wisely judged would speedily happen among so many confederates. It was in her power to appease Julius II. who was the chief promoter of this league: but she disdained to make any concession, and dared the fury of the storm. This was perhaps the only time the Venetians were rash.

The pope began his declaration of war by excommunications, which at that time were held in more contempt at Venice than in any other nation whatever.

Lewis

Lewis XII. sent an herald at arms to the doge to denounce war in form against him; at the same time he demanded the restitution of the territories of Cremona, which he himself had ceded to the Venetians when they assisted him in retaking Milan, and moreover laid claim to Brescia, Bergamo, and several other territories.

The rapid success, which had always accompanied the French army in the beginning of all their expeditions, did not fail them in this. Lewis XII. at the head of his army routed the Venetian forces in the famous battle of Agnadello, fought near the river Adda. Immediately upon this victory every one of the confederates seized upon his pretended lot. Julius II. made himself master of all Romania. Thus the popes, who, as we are informed by history, owed their first demesnes to a French emperor, were now obliged to the victorious army of Lewis XII. king of France, for the rest: and from that memorable day they became possessed of almost the whole of these territories which they at present occupy.

The emperor's troops in the mean time advanced towards Friuli, and seized upon Trieste, which has ever since remained in the house of Austria. The Spaniards laid hold of the Venetian possessions in Calabria; and even the duke of Ferrara, and the marquis of Mantua, who were formerly generals in the Venetian service, had a share in the general spoil. Venice now exchanged her fool-hardy courage for the deepest consternation. She abandoned all her towns on the terra firma, released Padua and Verona from their oath of allegiance, and, reduced to her antient Lagunes, sued for mercy to the emperor Maximilian, whose great success made him inflexible.

And now pope Julius having fulfilled his first design, which was that of aggrandizing the see of Rome, on the ruins of Venice, began to think of the second, which was to drive the barbarians, as they were called, out of Italy.

Lewis XII. was returned to France, where like Charles VIII. he remained as negligent in securing his conquests as he had been eager to make them. The
pope

pope granted the Venetians his pardon, who, somewhat recovered from their first consternation, continued to make head against the emperor.

At length Julius entered into a league with this republic against those very French whom he had before invited to assist in oppressing it. His aim was to ruin all the foreign powers in Italy by the arms of each other, and to exterminate the small remains of German authority yet left in that country, and to raise Italy to a respectable and powerful state, of which the sovereign pontiff might be the chief. To compass his project he spared neither negotiations, money, nor pains. He directed the war in person, he attended in the trenches, and braved death in all its shapes. He is blamed by most historians for his ambition and obstinacy: but they ought to do justice to his consummate courage, and the grandeur of his views.

A fresh error committed by Lewis XII. favoured the designs of Pope Julius. Lewis was fond of that œconomy which is a virtue in a peaceable administration, but a vice in the prosecution of great undertakings.

By a mistaken discipline the chief strength of an army was at that time centered in the gendarmerie, who fought either on foot or on horseback; and the French had never been at the pains to form a good body of infantry of their own, which however was very easy to be done, as experience has since shewn. The kings of France then always kept a-body of German and Swiss foot in their pay.

It is well known that the Swiss infantry greatly contributed to the conquest of Milan. In this business they had not only sold their lives, but even their honour, by betraying Lewis the Moor*. The Swiss cantons now demanded an augmentation of pay from Lewis, which he refused to comply with. The pope took advantage of this conjuncture: he wheedled the Swiss, he gave them money, and flattered them with the title of defenders of the church. He sent emissaries amongst them to preach against the French: the people, naturally

* See chap. lxxxix.

naturally of a warlike disposition, ran in crouds to hear these sermons. What was this but preaching up a crusade?

It may have been observed, that, through an unaccountable concurrence of circumstances and conjunctures, the French were now become allies to the Germans, [whose declared enemies they had been on so many former occasions. Nay they were even their vassals; for Lewis XII. had purchased, for one hundred thousand gold crowns, the investiture of the duchy of Milan, of the emperor, who was neither a powerful ally nor a faithful friend, and who, as emperor, could not be supposed to love either the French or the pope.

Ferdinand the Catholic, whose dupe Lewis had always been, deserted the league of Cambray as soon as he had gotten possession of the places he claimed in Calabria. He had prevailed on the pope to grant him the full and entire investiture of the kingdom of Naples, who by this means bound him firmly in his interest; so that Julius, by his superior skill in politics, gained over not only the Venetians, the Swiss, and the kingdom of Naples, but also the English, while France was left to bear the brunt of the war alone.

Lewis XII. upon being attacked by the
1510 pope, called an assembly of the bishops at Tours, to know whether he might safely defend himself against the pontiff, and whether the excommunications of this latter would be valid. In these more enlightened days, we may be surprised that such questions were thought necessary; but we should consider the prejudices of the times; and here I cannot forbear remarking the first case of conscience which was proposed in this assembly. The president put the question, whether or no the pope had a right to declare war on an occasion that did not relate to religion or the church patrimony; it was answered in the negative. Now it is plain, that the question here proposed was not that which should have been asked, and that the answer was contrary to what should have been given: for in matters of religion or church possessions, a bishop,
if

If we believe the holy scriptures, should be so far from making war, that he is only to pray and to suffer; but in a political affair, a pope not only may, but ought to assist his allies, and revenge the cause of Italy. Besides, the pope made war at this time to increase the church demesnes by the addition of Ferrara and Bologna, whose possessors were under the protection of France.

This French assembly made a more noble answer, when it resolved to abide by the pragmatic sanction of Charles VIII. to stop all future remittances to Rome, and to levy a subsidy on the clergy of France for carrying on the war against the pope, the Roman head of these clergy.

The operations were begun on the side of Bologna and Ferrara. The pope laid siege to Mirandola*; and this pontiff, at the age of seventy, appeared in the trenches armed cap-a-pié, visited all the works, hastened the operations, and entered the breach in person.

While the pope, worn out with age, was toiling under arms, the French king, still in 1511 the prime of his vigour, was holding councils, and endeavouring to stir up the ecclesiastical powers of Christendom, as the pope did the military ones. The council was held at Pisa, whither several cardinals, who were the pope's enemies, repaired. But this council of the king's proved a fruitless undertaking, while the pope's warlike enterprizes met with success.

They in vain caused medals to be struck at Paris, in which Lewis XII. was represented with this device, *perdam Babylonis nomen*, I will destroy even the name of Babylon. It was shameful to boast of what he was so little able to execute.

Heroic deeds, and even battles gained, may serve to render a nation famous, but can never increase its power while there is an essential error in the political administration, which at length must bring on its ruin. This is what happened to the French in Italy. The brave chevalier de Bayard acquired universal admiration

Vol. III.

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by

* A fortified city of Modena in Italy.

by his courage and generosity. Young Gaston de Foix made his name immortal at the age of twenty-three, by repulsing a large body of Swifs, passing with amazing speed four rivers, beating the pope in Bologna, and gaining the famous battle of Ravenna, where he won immortal glory, and lost his life. These rapid exploits made a noble figure; but the king was at a great distance from his army: his orders came often too late, and were sometimes contradictory. His parsimony, at a time when he ought to have been lavish in his rewards, checked all emulation. Military discipline and subordination were unknown among his troops. The infantry was composed of German foreigners, who were mercenaries attached to no interest. The French gallantry, and that air of superiority which belongs to conquerors, at once irritated the subjected Italians, and made them jealous. At length the fatal blow was struck by the emperor Maximilian, who, gained over by the pope, published the imperial *avocatoria*, (or letters of recal) by which every German soldier, serving in the armies of France, was ordered to quit them, under pain of being declared a traitor to his country.

The Swifs at the same time came down from their mountains to fight against the French, who at the time of the League of Cambray had all Europe for their ally, and now beheld it up in arms against them. These mountaineers made an honour of bringing with them the son of that Lewis the Moor, duke of Milan, whom they had betrayed, to expiate in some measure the treachery they had been guilty of towards the father by crowning his son.

The French, who were commanded by the marechal Trivulce, were obliged to abandon, one after another, all the towns they had taken from the furthestmost part of Romagna to the borders of Savoy. The famous Bayard made some fine retreats; but he was still a hero obliged to fly. There were but three months between the victory of Ravenna and the total expulsion of the French from Italy: and Lewis XII. had the mortification to see young Maximilian Sforza, son to the deceased duke, who had been a prisoner in his dominions, settled

settled upon his father's throne by the Swiss; and Genoa, where that prince had established a kind of Asiatic pomp of power, resumed its liberty, and drove the French out of his territories.

The Swiss, who, from mercenaries to the French king, were now become his enemies, laid siege to the city of Dijon with twenty thousand men. Paris itself was struck with dread; and Lewis de la Tremouille, governor of the province of Burgundy, could not get rid of these invaders, without paying them twenty thousand crowns in ready money, with a promise in the king's name of four hundred thousand more, and giving seven hostages for the payment. Thus were the French obliged to pay dearer for the invasion of these people than they would have done for their assistance. The Swiss, enraged at not receiving the fourth part of the money stipulated, condemned the hostages to be put to death: upon which the king was obliged to promise, not only to pay them the whole sum agreed, but also to advance as much more. But the hostages having luckily made their escape, the king saved his money, but not his honour.

C H A P. XCIII.

Sequel of the Affairs of LEWIS XII. of FERDINAND the Catholic, and of HENRY VIII. king of ENGLAND.

THIS famous league of Cambray, which was at first set on foot against the Venetians, was at length turned against France, and became particularly fatal to Lewis XII. We have already seen, that there were two princes in Europe above the rest, superior in abilities to the French king; these were Ferdinand the Catholic, and the pope. Lewis had made himself feared only for a short time; and afterwards had all the rest of Europe to fear.

While he was losing Milan and Genoa, together with his money and his troops, he was moreover de-

prived of a barrier which France had against Spain. His ally and relation, John d'Albert, king of Navarre, saw his dominions in an instant seized upon by Ferdinand the Catholic. This robbery was covered with a religious pretext. Ferdinand pretended a bull from pope Julius II. excommunicated John d'Albert as an adherent of the French king, and the council of Pisa. The kingdom of Navarre has ever since continued in the possession of the Spaniards, without ever having been rent from it.

The better to understand the politics of this Ferdinand, so remarkable for his continual professions, of religion and good faith, and his always breaking them, let us examine the art he used in this conquest. The young king of England, Henry VIII. was his son-in-law. To him he proposed a treaty of alliance by which the English were to be reinstated in Guienne, their ancient patrimony, from whence they had been expelled above a century. The young king, daz-

1512 zled with this specious promise, sent a fleet and forces into the Bay of Biscay, which Ferdinand employed in the conquest of Navarre; and afterwards left the English to return home, without making the least attempt upon Guienne, which indeed it was impracticable to invade. Thus he deceived his son-in-law, after having successively imposed upon the king of Naples, his relation, upon the Venetians, upon Lewis XII. and the pope. His Spanish subjects gave him the titles of the Wise and the Prudent; in Italy he was called the Pious; and at Paris and London the Treacherous.

Lewis XII. who had provided sufficiently for the security of Guienne, had not the same good fortune with regard to Picardy. The new king of England, Henry VIII. took advantage of the general distress to invade France on this side, into which he had always an easy access thro' Calais, of which he was in possession.

This young monarch, boiling with ambition and courage, attacked France alone, without the assistance either of the emperor Maximilian, of Ferdinand the Catholic.

Catholic, or any other of his allies. The old emperor, always enterprising and poor, served without blushing in the king of England's army, for the daily pay of one hundred crowns. Henry, by his single strength, seemed in a condition to renew the fatal times of Poitiers and Agincourt. He gained a complete victory at the battle of Guinegaste, which is called 1513 the Battle of the Spurs. He took Terouane, which is no longer a town; and Tournay, a city which has been always incorporated with the kingdom of France, and the nursery of that monarchy.

Lewis XII. who was at this time a widower, by the death of his wife, Anne of Brittany, could not purchase peace of Henry upon any other terms than those of marrying his sister, the princess Mary of England; but, instead of receiving a portion with his wife, which not only princes, but even private persons are entitled to, Lewis was obliged to pay a dowry, and it cost him a million of crowns to marry the sister of his conqueror. Thus, after having been ransomed both by the English and the Swiss, duped by Ferdinand, and driven from his conquests in Italy, by the resolution of pope Julius II. he soon afterwards finished his inglorious career. 1515

On account of the few taxes he laid upon his people, he was called their Father, a title he would otherwise have acquired, from the heroes with which France then abounded, had he by exacting the necessary contributions preserved Italy, checked the insolence of the Swiss, properly succoured Navarre, and driven back the English.

But if he was unfortunate abroad he was happy at home. No other fault can be laid to this prince's charge but that of selling the posts in the state; and this venality did not extend in his time to the officers of judicature. By this sale of employments he raised, during the seventeen years of his reign, the sum of 1,200,000 livres in the single diocese of Paris. But then, on the other hand, the aids and taxes were very moderate. He shewed a fatherly affection for his people, by never loading them with heavy burthens; and

did not look upon himself as sovereign of France in the same manner as the lord of a fief is of his lands, merely to be furnished with subsistence from them. In his time there were no new impositions; and when Fromentau, in 1580, presented to that extravagant prince, Henry III. a comparative account of the sums exacted during his reign, and those which were paid to Lewis XII. there appeared in each article an immense sum to be placed to the account of Henry, and a very moderate one to that of Lewis, supposing it to have been an ancient right belonging to the crown; but considered as an extraordinary tax, there remained nothing to be charged to Lewis: unhappily for the kingdom this account of what was exacted by Henry, and not paid to Lewis, makes a large volume.

The whole of this king's revenue did not exceed thirteen millions of livres; but these thirteen millions are about fifty millions of the present money. Commodities of all kinds were much cheaper than they are at present, and the kingdom was not in debt: it is not, therefore, so very surprising, that with this small revenue in money, and a prudent œconomy, he could live in splendor, and keep his people in plenty. He took care to have public justice distributed diligently, impartially, and almost without expence. The fees of courts were not then one fortieth part of what they are now. In the whole bailiwick of Paris there were at that time no more than forty-nine serjeants, or bailiffs, whereas there are at present five hundred. It must be allowed that Paris was not then the fifth part so large as it now is: but the number of the officers of justice is increased in a much greater proportion than the extent of the city; and the evils, inseparable from all great capitals, have increased in this much more than the inhabitants.

He preserved the custom of the parliaments of the kingdom, to chuse three candidates to fill up a vacant seat; the king nominated one out of these, and the dignities in the law were then only given to the counsellors, as a reward for their merit or reputation in their profession. His ever-memorable edict of 1499, which should

should never be forgotten in history, has made his memory dear to every lover and distributor of justice. By this edict he ordained, "That the law should always be observed, notwithstanding any orders contrary to law, which a sovereign might be induced to issue thro' importunity."

The general plan, according to which you here study history, admits of but few details; but particular circumstances, like these, upon which the welfare of states depends, and which form so excellent a lesson for princes, become one part of the principal object.

Lewis XII. was the first of our kings who protected the industrious labourer from the rapacious violence of the soldier, and punished with death those gendarmes who laid the peasants under contribution. This cost the lives of five or six gendarmes, and the country was at ease: therefore, if he was neither the great hero, nor the profound politician, he at least acquired the more valuable glory of being a good king; and his memory will continue to be blessed by all posterity.

C H A P. XCIV.

Of ENGLAND, and the Troubles in that Kingdom, after its Invasion of FRANCE. Of MARGARET of ANJOU, wife to HENRY VI. &c.

POPE Julius II. who, in the midst of the dissensions which still troubled Italy, continued firm to his design of driving thence all foreigners, had given the see of Rome a temporal power, to which it had hitherto been a stranger. Parma and Placentia were separated from the duchy of Milan, and annexed to the pope's dominions by the consent of the emperor himself; and Julius ended his pontificate and his life with this act, which does honour to his memory. The 1513 popes, his successors, have lost this state. The

see of Rome was at that time a preponderating temporal power in Italy.

Venice, though engaged in a war with Ferdinand the Catholic, as king of Naples, still continued very powerful, and made head at once against both Mahometans and Christians. Germany was at peace, and England began to grow formidable. We must enquire from whence she set out, and whither she arrived.

The malady of Charles VI. had ruined France, and the natural weakness of Henry VI. desolated England.

In his minority his relations disputed for 1422 the government, like those of Charles VI. and overturned every thing to command in his name. As in Paris a duke of Burgundy caused a duke of Orleans to be assassinated, so in London, the duchess of Gloucester, the king's aunt, was accused of practising sorcery against the life of Henry VI. A wretched woman-fortune-teller and a foolish or knavish priest, who pretended to be magicians, were burned alive for this pretended conspiracy; the duchess thought herself happy in being only condemned to do penance in her shift, and confined in prison for life. The spirit of philosophy was then very distant from that island, which was the centre of superstition and cruelty.

Most of the quarrels between sovereigns 1444 have ended in marriages. Charles VII. gave Margaret of Anjou to Henry VI. she was daughter to René of Anjou, king of Naples, duke of Lorraine, and count of Maine, who, with all these titles, was without dominions, and could not afford to give the least portion with his daughter. Few princesses were more unhappy in a father and an husband. She was a woman of an enterprising disposition and unshaken courage, and, but for one crime she committed (which sullied her virtues) she might have passed for an heroine. She had all the talents of government, and all the virtues of war: but, at the same time, she gave a loose to the cruel actions which ambition, war, and faction inspire. In a word, her boldness, and her husband's pusillanimity, were the first causes of the public calamities which beset their kingdom.

She

She had a desire to govern, and to this end it was necessary to get rid of the duke of Gloucester, the king's uncle, and husband to that duchess who had already fallen a sacrifice to his enemies, and was confined by them in prison. The duke was arrested under pretence of being engaged in a new plot, and the next morning was found dead in his bed. This act of violence rendered both the queen's administration and the king's name odious to the English, who seldom hate without forming conspiracies. There happened to be at that time in England a descendant of Edward III. who was nearer related to the common stock than the family on the throne. This was the duke of York. He bore for the device on his shield a white rose; and Henry VI. who was of the house of Lancaster, bore a red rose. From hence came these two names so famous in the civil war.

Factions must ever in their beginnings be protected by a parliament, till this parliament becomes the slave to the conqueror. The duke of York accused the duke of Suffolk before the parliament; this duke was the queen's prime minister and favourite, these two titles had gained him the hatred of the nation. Here follows a strange instance of the effects of party hatred. The court, to content the people, banished this minister from the kingdom, who thereupon embarked on board a ship for France. The captain of a man of war met this ship at sea, and enquiring what passengers they had on board, was answered by the master, that they were carrying the duke of Suffolk over to France. "You shall not carry a person impeached by my country out of the island," replied the captain; and immediately ordered him on board his own ship and struck off his head. Thus did the English act in time of full peace * The war which succeeded opened a scene of still greater horrors.

E. 5

Henry

* The English government and English nation are no more chargeable with this murder, than they are with any robbery committed on the high-way, in contempt of the law established. The duke of Suffolk was seized by a desperate partizan of the opposite faction, who caused him to be put to death without form of trial.

Henry VI. was afflicted with an infirmity which rendered him for some years incapable of thinking or acting *. Thus Europe, in the course of this century, beheld three sovereigns, who, from a disorder in their brain, were plunged into the greatest misfortunes; the emperor Winceslaus, Charles VI. of France, and Henry VI. of England.

In one of these unhappy years of Henry's
 1455 insanity, the duke of York and his cabal made themselves masters of the council; the king recovering, as it were, from a long trance, opened his eyes, and beheld himself deprived of all authority. His wife, Margaret of Anjou, exhorted him to be king; but, in order to be so, it was necessary to unsheath the sword. The duke of York, who was expelled the council, was already at the head of an army. Henry was carried to fight a battle at St. Alban's, in which he was wounded and taken prisoner; but not then dethroned. The duke of York, his conqueror, carried him in triumph with him to London; and, leaving him the empty title of King, took to himself that of Protector, a title unknown before to the English.

Henry VI. who had frequent returns of his weakness and disorder, was no other than a prisoner served with the exterior marks of royalty. His wife longed to set him at liberty, that she herself might be free. Her courage was her greatest misfortune; she raised troops by the assistance of the noblemen in her interest, delivered her husband from his confinement in London, and became herself the general of her army. Thus, within a short space of time, the English saw four French women at the head of armies, viz. the wife of the count of Montfort, in Brittany; Edward the second's queen, in England; the maid of Orleans, in France; and this Margaret of Anjou.

The

* Henry VI. had no other distemper but a weak head, which did not at all affect his bodily constitution, which was hale and vigorous.

The queen herself drew up her army, and fought by her husband in the bloody battle of Northampton. Her great enemy, the duke of York, was not in the opposite army; but his eldest son, the earl of March, served his first apprenticeship to civil war under the earl of Warwick, the most famous man of his time; a genius born for those days of tumult, full of artifice, and still more replete with courage and pride, fit either to direct a campaign, or to lead in the day of battle; fruitful in resources, capable of every thing, and formed to give or take away crowns at his pleasure. Warwick's star prevailed again; Margaret of Anjou was defeated, had the grief to behold the king, her husband, taken prisoner in his tent; and, while that unhappy monarch was calling to her with out-stretched arms, she was obliged to ride off full speed with her son the prince of Wales. Henry was a second time reconducted to his capital by his conquerors, where he remained still a king and a prisoner.

A parliament was now called; and the duke of York, who was before protector, demanded a new title. He claimed the crown as the representative of Edward III. in preference to Henry VI. who was descended of a younger branch of that family. The cause of the real king, and of him who wanted to be such, was solemnly debated in the house of peers, each side gave in their arguments in writing, as is done in a common cause. The duke of York, though the victor, could not carry his cause entirely. It was decided, that Henry VI. should keep the crown during his life-time; and that it should devolve upon the duke of York after his death, by the exclusion of the prince of Wales. But a clause was added to this act, which proved a new declaration of war and tumults; namely, that if the king did any thing in violation of the said act, the crown should from that instant go to the duke of York.

Margaret of Anjou, though beaten, a wanderer at a distance from the king her husband, and having for enemies the victorious duke of York, the city of London, and the parliament, still maintained her courage. She went thro' the principality of Wales and the neighbour-
ing

ing counties, animating her former friends, endeavouring to make new, and raising another army. It is well known that the armies of those days did not consist of regular troops, kept long in the field, and in the pay of a single chief. Every nobleman brought with him what men he could pick up in haste, who were maintained and paid by plunder; and it was necessary to come to an engagement speedily, or retire. At length the queen, at the head of an army of 18,000 men, encountered

ed her grand enemy the duke of York, in the
1460 county of that name, near the castle of Sandal.

The fortune of that day answered her courage. The duke of York was defeated, and died of his wounds in the field; and his second son, Rutland, was taken as he was endeavouring to make his escape. The father's head was fixed upon the town walls, together with those of his generals, where they remained a long time as monuments of his defeat.

Margaret, at length victorious, marched to London to set the king her husband at liberty. The earl of Warwick, who was the soul of York's party, was still at the head of an army, carrying with him his king and captive. The queen and Warwick met near St. Alban's, a place famous for the many battles fought there.

The queen had again the good fortune to
1461 conquer. She now enjoyed the pleasure of seeing the formidable Warwick flying before her, and of restoring to her husband, on the field of battle, his liberty and authority. Never had woman met with more success, or acquired greater glory; but her triumph was short. She still wanted the city of London on her side, which Warwick had found means to secure so effectually, that when the queen presented herself for admittance, it was refused her, and she had not an army sufficiently strong to force it. The earl of March, eldest son to the duke of York, was in that city, and breathed nothing but revenge: In short, after all her victories, the queen was obliged to retreat. She went into the north of England to strengthen her party, which the name and presence of the king greatly increased.

In

In the mean time Warwick, who had London at his command, assembled the citizens 1461 in a field near the city-gates; and shewing them the duke of York's son, asked them which they would chuse for their king, that young prince, or Henry of Lancaster? The general cry served on this occasion instead of an assent of parliament, as there was none fitting at that time. Warwick, however, called together some few of the lords and bishops, who came to a resolution, that Henry of Lancaster had infringed the former act of parliament, by his wife's having taken up arms for him.

The young duke of York, therefore, was proclaimed king in London, by the name of Edward IV. while his father's head still remained fixed upon the walls of York, as that of a traitor. Henry VI. was now deprived of his crown, who, when in his cradle, was proclaimed king of England and France, and had swayed the sceptre for thirty-eight years, without having ever been reproached with a crime, but that of imbecility.

His wife, who was then in the north of England, upon receiving this news, hastily assembled an army of 60,000 men. This was a prodigious effort. This time, however, she hazarded neither her husband's person, her son's, or her own. Warwick led his new-made king with an army of 40,000 men to give the queen battle.

They met at Santon †, near the river Aire, on 1641 the borders of Yorkshire, when there was fought the most bloody battle that had ever contributed to depopulate England. The writers of those times tell us, that there fell no less than 36,000 on that day. Warwick gained a complete victory, by which young Edward was established on the throne, and Margaret of Anjou was left the outcast of fortune. After the defeat she fled into Scotland with her husband and son, leaving Edward at full liberty to act as he pleased, who immediately took his father's head, and those of his followers, down from the city-walls, placing in their room

† This battle was fought between Towton and Saxton.

room those of his enemy's generals whom he had taken prisoners. England thus became a vast theatre of blood and human slaughter ; and scaffolds were raised in every part of the field of battle.

C H A P. XCV.

Of EDWARD IV. Of MARGARET of ANJOU, and of the Murder of HENRY VI.

THE intrepid Margaret still preserved her courage. Finding herself deceived in the succours she expected from Scotland, she crossed over to France, through the midst of the enemy's ships, which almost covered the sea, and applied for assistance to Lewis XI. who had just begun his reign. Through a mistaken policy, he refused to grant her request ; but even this did not daunt her : she borrowed money and some ships, and at length obtained five hundred men, with which she re-imbarked, and in her return to England met with a violent storm, which separated the vessel she was in from the rest of her small fleet. At length however, she landed in England, where she gathered together an army, and once more dared the fortune of war. She was no longer so careful of her own person, nor of those of her husband and son. She risked another battle

1462 at Hexham, which she lost as she had done so many others. After this defeat she remained wholly without resource ; the king her husband fled one way, and she with her son another, without servants or assistance, and exposed to every kind of accident and ill treatment. Henry fell into the hands of his enemies, who conducted him to London in an ignominious manner, and confined him in the Tower. Margaret had the good fortune to escape into France with her son, and took refuge with her father René of Anjou, who could do nothing more than lament her misfortunes.

Young

Young Edward IV. who had been placed on the English throne by the arms of Warwick, being now rid of all his enemies, and in possession of Henry's person, reigned in full security. But no sooner was he freed from his troubles, than he became ungrateful: Warwick, who was a father to him, was at that time in France, negotiating a marriage between his prince and the lady Bona of Savoy, sister to Lewis's queen. While this treaty was concluding, Edward happened to see Elizabeth Woodwill, the widow of Sir John Gray, with whom he fell violently in love, and was privately married to her; after which he caused her to be proclaimed queen, without once informing 1465 Warwick of any part of these transactions.

After this glaring affront, he entirely neglected him, removed him from his councils, and by this treatment made him his irreconcilable enemy. Warwick, who had cunning equal to his courage, soon employed both in working his revenge. He brought over the duke of Clarence, the king's brother, to his party, raised the kingdom of England in arms, and instead of the contentions of the white and red rose, the civil war was carried on between the king and his incensed subject. On this occasion battles, truces, negotiations, and treasons followed each other in rapid succession. Warwick at length prevailed, and drove the king he had made from the throne; after which he went to the Tower, and released Henry whom he had before 1470 dethroned, and once more placed the crown on his head. This procured him the title of king-maker. The parliaments of those times were only the instruments of the will of the strongest: Warwick assembled one, which reinstated Henry VI. in all his rights, and declared Edward IV. an usurper and a traitor, on whom it had but a few years before bestowed the crown. This long and bloody tragedy did not end here: Edward IV. who had fled to Holland, had a number of friends in England; accordingly he returned back, seven months after his banishment, when the gates of London were opened to him by his party; and Henry, ever the sport of fortune, was hardly seated on his throne, when he

he was sent again to the Tower. Margaret of Anjou, his queen, who was always ready to revenge his cause, and always fruitful in resources, came over to England at this time, with her son prince of Wales; and the first news she heard at her landing was the fresh misfortune which had befallen her royal consort. But Warwick, who had been so long his persecutor, was now become his defender, and headed an army in his behalf against Edward, whom he marched to meet. This was some consolation to the unhappy queen; but a very short time after she had heard of the imprisonment of her husband, a second courier brought her the news that

1471 Warwick was slain in battle, and that Edward remained conqueror.

It is amazing that a woman, after such repeated series of misfortunes, could still have the courage to brave fortune: but this very courage furnished her with resources and friends. Whoever headed a faction in England in those days was sure to see it strengthened in length of time, by the hatred which generally prevails against the court and ministry. This partly helped to raise another army for Margaret, after all her various changes of fortune and defeats. There was hardly a county in England in which she had not fought a battle; Tewksbury, near the banks of the Severn, was witness to her last: here she headed her troops in person, and went from rank to rank shewing the soldiers the young prince of Wales, whom she led by the hand. The fight

1471 was obstinate, but at length victory declared for Edward. The queen losing sight of her son during the hurry of the defeat, and having in vain enquired for him, fell, deprived of all sense and motion, and recovered only to see her son taken prisoner, and her conqueror Edward standing before her. Her son was then taken from her, and she was carried prisoner to London, and confined in the Tower with the king her husband. While they were carrying off the queen, Edward turning to the prince of Wales, asked him how he came to have the boldness to enter his dominions? To which the young prince replied, "I am come into my father's kingdom to revenge his cause, and rescue my inheritance

heritance out of your hands." Edward, incensed at the freedom of this reply, struck him over the face with his gauntlet, and historians tell us, that immediately Edward's two brothers, the duke of Clarence, whom he had lately restored to his favour, and the duke of Gloucester, with some of their followers, fell upon the young prince like so many wild beasts, and hewed him to death with their swords on the field of battle. If such are the manners of the chiefs of the people, what must be those of the commonalty? They put all their prisoners to death, and at length determined to murder Henry himself. The respect which, even in those times of brutality and cruelty, had for upwards of forty years been paid to the virtues of this monarch, had hitherto stopt the hands of assassination; but after the inhuman murder of the prince of Wales, very little regard was shewed to the king; and the duke of Gloucester, who had before dipped his hands in the son's blood, now went to the Tower, and put an end to the wretched 1471 father's life.

Queen Margaret's life was spared, because they were in hopes that the French court would purchase her liberty; and accordingly about four years afterwards, when Edward, after being settled in the quiet possession of the throne, went to Calais with an intention of making war upon France, and that Lewis XI. by a sum of money and a shameful treaty, prevailed on him to return, this heroine was redeemed for fifty thousand crowns. This was a considerable sum to the English at that time, impoverished by their wars with France, and their troubles at home.

Margaret of Anjou, after having fought twelve battles in support of the rights of her husband and son, died in 1482, the most wretched queen, wife, sister, and mother, in Europe; and, but for the murder of her husband's uncle, the most respectable.

C H A P. XCVI.

Sequel of the Troubles of ENGLAND, during the Reigns of EDWARD IV. the Tyrant RICHARD III. and to the latter Part of the Reign of Henry VII.

EDWARD IV. now reigned peaceably. The house of York was fully triumphant, and its power was cemented by the blood of almost all the princes of the Lancastrian family. Whoever considers the behaviour of Edward, will look upon him as no other than a barbarian, wholly devoted to revenge; and yet he was a man given up to pleasure, and as busied in the intrigues of women as in those of the state. He did not stand in need of the title of king to please; he was formed by nature one of the handsomest men of his time, and the most amorous; and, by an astonishing contrast, she had, with the tenderest sensibility, given him the most blood-thirsty and cruel disposition. He condemned
1577 his brother Clarence to lose his life upon the most frivolous suspicion, and only granted him the favour of chusing the manner of his death. Clarence desired to be drowned in a butt of wine. What reason can be given for so unaccountable a choice * ?

He knew the surest way to please the nation was to make war with France. We have already seen that in 1475, Edward crossed the sea, and that Lewis XI. by a shameful policy purchased the retreat of a prince not so powerful as himself, nor so well settled on his throne †. To purchase peace of an enemy is to furnish him with
the

* This is a vulgar error. It was not at his own desire; but the court being afraid of the popular resentment by a public execution, he was privately drowned in a butt of Malmsey.

† See Chap. lxxx.

the means to make war ; accordingly in 1483 Edward proposed to his parliament a fresh invasion of France, and never was proposal received with more universal joy ; but while he was making preparations for this great undertaking, he died, in the forty-second year of his age. 1483

As he was of a very robust constitution, his brother Richard, duke of Gloucester, was suspected of having shortened his days by poison. The public suspicion was neither rash nor ill founded ; Gloucester was a monster, born with a disposition to commit the deepest and most deliberate crimes.

Edward IV. at his death left two sons : the eldest of these was thirteen years of age, and succeeded his father by the name of Edward V. Gloucester formed the design of taking these two children from the queen their mother, in order to put them to death, and seize the crown for himself, and spared no kind of dissimulation, artifice, and oaths, to secure their persons, which he no sooner accomplished than he lodged them both in the Tower, that they might, as he pretended, be in greater safety. But he met with an unexpected obstacle in putting this double assassination in execution. He had caused the lord Hastings, a nobleman of a violent character, but firmly attached to the person of the young king, to be sounded by his emissaries : this lord had given plain intimations of his horror at being concerned in any such crime. Gloucester then, finding his secret in such dangerous hands, did not hesitate an instant in the part he was to act. The council of state, of which Hastings was a member, sat in the Tower ; thither came Gloucester, attended by a band of armed followers, and addressing himself to Lord Hastings, told him, that he arrested him for high crimes. " Who ! me, my lord ? " replied the accused nobleman. " Yes, thee, traitor," answered Gloucester ; and immediately, in presence of the council, ordered 1483 him to be beheaded.

Having thus gotten rid of one who was privy to his secret, he, despising the forms of law with which the English always covered over their most wicked attempts, gathered

gathered together a rabble from the dregs of the people, who, assembling in the Guildhall of the city, cried out that they would have Richard of Gloucester for their king; and the mayor of London went the next day, at the head of this mob, and made him an offer of the crown, which he accepted, and was crowned without calling a parliament, or offering the least shew of reason for such a procedure. He only caused a rumour to be spread, that his brother Edward IV. had been born in adultery, and made no scruple of thus dishonouring the memory of his mother. Indeed it was hardly possible to think that the same person should be father to Edward IV. and Gloucester. The first was remarkably handsome, and the other deformed in all parts of his body, with an aspect as hideous as his soul was villainous.

Thus he founded his sole right to the crown on his mother's infamy; and in declaring himself legitimate, made his nephews the issue of a bastard. Immediately after his coronation he sent one Tyrrel to strangle the young king and his brother in the Tower.

1483 This was known to the nation, who only murmured in secret; so much do men change with the times. Gloucester, under the name of Richard III. remained two years and a half in quiet enjoyment of the fruits of one of the most atrocious crimes that the English had ever seen perpetrated amongst them, though used to many.

During this short enjoyment of the royal authority, he called a parliament, to which he had the audaciousness to submit his claim to be examined. There are times in which the people are dastardly, in proportion as their rulers are cruel; this parliament declared the mother of Richard III. an adulteress; and that neither the late Edward IV. nor his brothers, Richard only excepted, were born in lawful wedlock; and therefore that the crown of right belonged to him, in preference to the two young princes who had been strangled in the Tower, concerning whose deaths, however, they came to no explanation. Parliaments have sometimes committed more cruel actions, but never any one so infamous. So vile a condescension

descension requires whole ages of virtuous conduct to make amends for it.

At length, after two years and an half were elapsed, there arose an avenger of these crimes, in the person of Henry, earl of Richmond, who was the only remaining branch of the many princes of the house of Lancaster, that had fallen sacrifices to the ambition of the York faction, and who had taken refuge in Brittany. This young prince was not a descendent of Henry VI. but derived, like him, his pedigree from John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, son to the great Edward III. though by the female side, and from a very doubtful marriage of this John of Gaunt. His right to the crown was also still more doubtful; but the general detestation in which Richard III. was held, on account of his crimes, fortified his claim, and added strength to his party. He was as yet very young, when he conceived the design of revenging the deaths of so many princes of the house of Lancaster, by punishing Richard, and reducing England to his obedience. His first attempt proved unsuccessful, and, after having been witness to the defeat of his party, he was obliged to return to Brittany, and sue for an asylum. Richard treated in secret with the minister of Francis II. duke of Brittany, father to Anne of Brittany, who was married to Charles VIII. and Lewis XII. This prince himself was not capable of doing a base action; but his minister Landois was, and promised to deliver the earl of Richmond into the tyrant's hands. The young prince, coming to the knowledge of this, fled out of Brittany in disguise, and got into the territories of Anjou, only an hour before those who were sent to seize him.

It was the interest of Charles VIII. at that time king of France, to protect Richmond. The grandson of Charles VII. had been wanting in the principal point of politics, by suffering the English to remain unmolested when it was in his power to distress them; and on this occasion Charles VIII. furnished Richmond with only two thousand men. These would have been sufficient, had Richmond's party, been considerable: this however was the case soon after, and Richard himself, as soon as he

he heard that his rival was landed only with those small numbers, rightly judged that he would not be long without an army. The whole country of Wales, of which this prince was a native, took up arms in his favour, and a battle was at length fought between Richard and the earl, at Bosworth near Leicester *. Richard wore the crown on his head during the engagement, thinking to animate his men, by shewing them that they fought for their lawful king against a rebel. But lord Stanley, one of the tyrant's generals, who had long beheld with horror the crown usurped by such a monster, be-

1415 trayed a person so unworthy to be his sovereign, and went over to the earl with the corps he commanded. Richard was possessed of courage, and that was his only virtue. When he saw the day become desperate, he furiously threw himself into the midst of his enemies, where he received a death too glorious for his deserts. His naked and mangled body was found buried under an heap of slain, and being thrown across an horse, was carried in that manner to the city of Leicester, where it remained two days exposed to the view of the populace, who, calling to mind his many cruelties and crimes, shewed no signs of sorrow for his fate. Stanley, who had taken the crown from his head after he had fallen in the field, carried it to Henry of Richmond.

The victors sung *Te Deum* on the field of battle. When it was over, the whole army, as inspired with one voice, cried out, "Long live Henry of Richmond, our king." Thus did the fortune of this single day put an happy end to the desolations with which the factions of the white and red rose had filled England; and the throne, which had been so often stained with blood, and undergone such frequent changes, was at length settled in peace and security. The misfortunes which had followed the family of Edward III. were now at an end; and Henry VII. by marrying a daughter of Edward IV. united the rights of the two houses of York and Lancaster in his own person.

As

* Voltaire, by mistake, says, Litchfield.

As he had known how to conquer, so he knew how to govern; and his reign, which lasted for four and twenty years, during which time he was almost constantly at peace, somewhat humanized the manners of the nation. The parliaments which he frequently called, and with whom he always kept fair, enacted wise laws; justice once more resumed all her functions, and trade, which had begun first to flourish under the great Edward III. and which had been almost entirely ruined during the civil wars, was again revived. Of this the nation stood greatly in need. We may judge of its poverty by the extreme difficulty which Henry VII. found in raising a loan of two thousand pounds sterling from the city of London, a sum which did not amount to fifty thousand livres of our present money. Henry was, thro' inclination and necessity, avaritious. Had he been only saving he would have shewed his prudence; but the sordidness of his disposition, and his rapacious exactions, have tarnished the glory of his reign. He kept a private register of what he gained by the confiscations of estates; in short, no king was ever guilty of more meannesses. At his death there were found in his coffers two millions of pounds sterling, an immense sum for those times, which might have been much more usefully employed in public circulation than in lying buried in a prince's treasury; but in a country where the people were more inclined to raise seditions than to give money to their kings, it was necessary for a prince to have a treasure always at hand.

Two adventures, each extraordinary in its kind, rather disquieted than troubled his reign. A journeyman baker †, who called himself the nephew of Edward IV. disputed the crown with him. This person, who had been trained up in his part by a priest, was crowned king at Dublin, the capital of Ire- 1487
land, and ventured to give Henry battle near Nottingham ‡; who having defeated him and taken him prisoner,

† Lambert Simnel.

‡ This was called the battle of Stoke, from the village where it was fought.

prisoner, thought to humble the revoltors sufficiently, by making their sham king one of the scullions in his kitchen, in which post he continued for many years.

Daring enterprizes, though attended with ill success, frequently encourage others to imitate them, who, stirred up by the glory of the example, go on in hopes of meeting with better success: witness the six false Demetrius's, who rose one after another in Muscovy, and many other impostors. This journeyman baker was followed by the son of a Jew broker of Antwerp, who appeared in a more exalted character.

This young Jew, whose name was Perkin †, pretended to be the son of Edward IV. The French king, who was always attentive to cherish the seeds of sedition among the English, received this pretender at his court, acknowledged his assumed title, and gave him all encouragement: but having soon after reasons to keep fair with Henry, he left the impostor to shift for himself.

The old duchess dowager of Burgundy, sister to Edward IV. and widow of Charles the Rash, who first put this spring in play, now received Perkin as her nephew. The young Jew enjoyed the fruits of his impostor much longer than his predecessor the baker; a majestic air, a finished breeding, and great personal courage, seemed to make him worthy of the rank he assumed. He married a princess of the house of York, who still continued to love him, even after the discovery of the cheat. He maintained his claim by arms for five years, found means

to raise the Scotch in his favour, and met with
 1498 unexpected resources even in the midst of his
 defeats. But being at length abandoned by
 his party, and delivered to the king, Henry had the clemency to condemn him only to perpetual imprisonment, from which in attempting to make his escape he was seized, and paid for his rashness with his life.

And now the spirit of faction being entirely quelled among the English, that people, no longer formidable to
 their

† His name was Peter Warbeck; he was called Perkin, or Peterkin, by way of nickname, or abbreviation of his Christian name.

their prince, began to be so to their neighbours, particularly at the accession of Henry VIII. to the throne, who, by the extreme parsimony of his father, was in possession of immense riches, and, by the prudence of the administration, the absolute master of a warlike people, who were at the same time in as much subjection as the English are capable of being.

C H A P. XCVII.

A GENERAL VIEW of the sixteenth Century.

THE beginning of the sixteenth century, upon which we are already entered, presents us at one view with the noblest prospects that the universe ever furnished. If we cast our eyes on the princes who reigned at that time in Europe, we shall find, that either by their reputation, their conduct, or the great changes of which they were the causes, they made their names immortal. At Constantinople we see a Selim reducing under the Ottoman dominion all Syria and Egypt, of which the Mahometan Mamelukes had been in possession ever since the thirteenth century: after him appears his son the great Solyman, the first of the Turkish emperors who carried his standards to the walls of Vienna: he also caused himself to be crowned king of Persia in the city of Bagdat, which he subdued by his arms, and thus made Europe and Asia tremble at one time.

At the same time we behold in the North, Gustavus Vasa rescuing Sweden from a foreign yoke, and chosen king of the country of which he was the deliverer.

In Muscovy, John Basilowitz delivers his country from the Tartars, to whom it was tributary. This prince was indeed himself a barbarian, and the chief of a people yet more barbarous; but the avenger of his country merits to be ranked in the number of great princes.

In Spain, Germany, and Italy, we see Charles V. the sovereign of all those states, supporting the weight of the government of Europe, always in action, and always negotiating, for a long time equally fortunate in politics and war, the only powerful emperor since Charlemagne, and the first king of all Spain since the conquest of that country by the Moors; opposing a barrier to the Ottoman empire, making kings, and at length divesting himself of all his crowns, retiring from the world, and ending his life in solitude, after having been the disturber of all Europe.

Next stands forth his rival in glory and politics, Francis I. king of France, who, tho' less powerful and fortunate, but of a more brave and amiable disposition, divides with Charles V. the admiration and esteem of all nations. Glorious even in the midst of his defeats, he renders his kingdom flourishing, notwithstanding his misfortunes, and transplants the liberal arts into France from Italy, where they were then in the height of perfection.

Henry VIII. king of England, tho' too cruel and capricious to be admitted among the rank of heroes, has still a place among these kings, both on account of the change he wrought in the spirit of his people, and by having taught England how to hold the balance of power between sovereigns. 'This prince took for his device a warrior bending his bow, with these words; "Whom I defend is victorious." A device which his nation has at certain times verified.

Pope Leo X. is a name justly famous for the noble genius and amiable manners of him who bore it, for the great masters in the arts which have immortalized the age he lived in, and for the great change which divided the church during his pontificate.

In the beginning of this same century we find religion, and the pretext of reforming the received law, those two grand instruments of ambition, producing the same effects on the borders of Africa and in Germany, and among the Turks and the Christians. A new government and a new race of kings were established in the vast empire of Fez and Morocco, which extends

as far as the deserts of Nigritia. Thus Asia, Africa, and Europe, underwent at one and the same time a change of religions; for the Persians were separated for ever from the Turks, and while they acknowledged the same God and the same prophet, confirmed the schism of Omar and Ali. Immediately afterwards the Christians became divided amongst themselves, and wrested one half of Europe from the Roman pontiff.

The old world was shaken, and the new one discovered and conquered by Charles V. and a trade opened between the East-Indies and Europe by the ships and arms of the Portuguese.

We behold on one side the powerful empire of Mexico subdued by Cortez, and the Pizarros making the conquest of Peru with fewer number of soldiers than is necessary to lay siege to a small town in Europe; and on the other, Albuquerque, with a force very little superior, fixing the empire and trade of the Portuguese in the Indies, in spite of all the opposition of the kings of that country, and the efforts of the Moors, who were in possession of its trade.

Nature at this time produced extraordinary men in almost all branches, especially in Italy.

Another striking object in this illustrious age is, that, notwithstanding the wars which ambition raised, and the religious quarrels which began to disturb several states, the same genius, which made the polite arts flourish at Rome, Naples, Florence, Venice, and Ferrara, and which from thence diffused its light throughout Europe, quickly softened the manners of mankind in almost all the provinces of Christendom. The gallantry of the French court in the reign of Francis I. operated partly towards this great change; there was a continual emulation between this prince and Charles V. for glory, the spirit of chivalry and courtesy, even in the midst of their most furious dissensions; and this emulation, which communicated itself to all their courtiers, gave this age an air of grandeur and politeness unknown before.

Opulency had likewise a share in this change; and this opulency, which became more general, was, by a

strange revolution, partly the consequence of the fatal loss of Constantinople; for soon afterwards all the trade of the Turks was carried on by the Christians, who sold them even the spices of the Indies, which they took in at Alexandria, and from thence carried them in their ships to all the ports of the Levant.

Industry was every where encouraged. The city of Marseilles carried on a great trade. Lyons abounded in fine manufactures. The towns of the Low Countries were still more flourishing than when they were under the house of Burgundy. The ladies, who were invited to the court of France, made it the centre of magnificence and politeness. The manners of the court of London were indeed more rude, by reason of the capricious and rough disposition of its king, but that city already began to grow rich by trade.

In Germany the cities of Augsburg and Nuremberg, which dispersed through that empire the riches they drew from Venice, began already to feel the good effects of their correspondence with the Italians. In the former of these cities there were a number of beautiful houses, adorned on the outsides with paintings *in fresco*, after the Venetian manner. In a word, Europe saw halcyon days appear; but they were troubled by the storms which the rivalry between Charles V. and Francis I. excited, and the disputes which now began to arise about religion sullied the end of this century, and even rendered it terrible, by giving it a certain cast of barbarism, scarcely known to the Huns and Heruli.

C H A P. XCVIII.

State of EUROPE, in the time of CHARLES V. of
MUSCOVY, or RUSSIA. A Digression concerning
LAPLAND.

BEFORE I take a view of the state of Europe under Charles V. it will be necessary to form to myself a sketch of the different governments into which it was divided. I have already shewn the state of Spain, France, Germany, Italy, and England. I shall not speak of Turkey, and the conquests of the Ottomans in Syria and Africa, till I have first examined all the wonderful and fatal events which happened among the Christians; and have followed the Portuguese in the several voyages they made to Asia, and the military trade they carried on in that country, and have taken a view of the eastern world.

I shall begin at present with the Christian kingdoms of the North. The Russian or Muscovite state began at this time to put on some form. This state, which is so powerful, and is every day becoming more so, was for a long time only a tribe of half Christian savages, slaves to the Cazan-Tartars, the descendents of Tamerlane.

The duke of Russia paid a yearly tribute in money, skins, and cattle to these Tartars, which he himself carried on foot to the Tartarian ambassador, appointed to receive them; prostrating himself at his feet, and presenting him with milk to drink; and if any part of it fell upon the neck of the ambassador's horse, the duke was obliged to lick it off. The Russians were on the one hand slaves to the Tartars; and, on the other, pressed by the people of Lithuania: and, on the side of the Ukrain again, they were exposed to the depredations of the Crim-Tartars, descendents from the ancient Scythians of Taurica Chersonesus, to whom they likewise paid a tribute. At length there arose a chief,

named John Basilides, or the son of Basil, who, being a person of great courage, animated his dastardly Russians, and freed himself from so servile a yoke; adding, at the same time, to his dominions, Novogrod, and the city of Moscow, which he took from the Lithuanians towards the end of the fifteenth century. He extended his conquests as far as Finland, which country has frequently been the subject of ruptures between Russia and Sweden.

Russia, then, appears to have been at that time a large monarchy, though not as yet formidable to Europe. It is said that John Basilides brought back with him from Moscow three hundred waggons, loaded with gold, silver, and precious stones. The history of these dark times is wholly composed of fables. Neither the inhabitants of Moscow, nor the Tartars, had at that time any money but what they had plundered from others; and as they had so long been a prey to the Tartars, what great riches could be found among them? They were acquainted with little more than the mere necessaries of life.

The country about Moscow produces good corn, which is sown in May, and reaped in September. The earth bears some few fruits; honey is as plenty there as in Poland, and they have large and small cattle in abundance; but the wool being unfit for manufacturing, and the people in themselves rude and void of industry, the only cloathing used amongst them was the skins of beasts. There was not one house in the city of Moscow built of stone. The little wooden huts they lived in were made of the trunks of trees, covered with moss. As to their manners, they lived like brutes, having a confused idea of the religion of the Greek church, of which they thought themselves members. When they died, the priest who buried them put into the hand of the dead person a note addressed to St. Peter and St. Nicholas. This was their principal act of religion; but in almost all the villages to the north east of Moscow, the inhabitants were in general idolaters.

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The czars who succeeded John Basilides were possessed of riches, especially after another John Basilowitz had in 1551 taken Cazan and Astracan from the Tartars: but the Russians themselves were always poor; for as these absolute sovereigns had almost all the trade of their empire in their own hands, and raised contributions upon those who had gained a small competency, they quickly filled their own coffers, and even displayed an Asiatic pomp and luxury on their festivals and solemn days. They traded to Constantinople, by the way of the Black Sea; and with Poland by Novogrod. They had it therefore in their power to civilize their subjects; but the time was not yet come. All the northern part of their empire beyond Moscow consisted in vast wilds, and some few settlements of savages. They were even ignorant that there was such a large country at Siberia. A Cossack first discovered and conquered it in the reign of this John Basilowitz, in the same manner as Cortez conquered Mexico, with a few fire-arms only.

The czars had very little share in the affairs of Europe, except in some wars with the Swedes on account of Finland. None of the inhabitants ever stirred out of the country, nor engaged in any maritime trade. The very port of Archangel was at that time as much unknown as those of America, and was not discovered till the year 1553, by the English, who were in search of new countries in the North, after the example of the Spaniards and Portuguese, who had made several new settlements in the South, the East, and the West. It was necessary to pass the North Cape, at the extremity of Lapland. It was known by experience that there was a country where, during five months of the year, the sun never enlightened the horizon. In this attempt the crews of two ships perished with cold and other disorders on this coast. A third ship, commanded by one Chancellor, anchored in the port of Archangel, in the river Dwina, the borders of which were inhabited only by savages. Chancellor sailed up the Dwina to Moscow. The English after this were almost the only masters of the trade of Muscovy, and gained great riches

by the furs they brought from thence; and this was likewise another branch of trade taken from the Venetians. This republic had formerly had marts, and even a town on the borders of the Tanais, and afterwards carried on a trade for furs with Constantinople. Whoever reads history with any advantage, will see that there have been as many revolutions in trade as in states.

It was very improbable at that time that a prince of Russia should one day found, in the marshes at the bottom of the Gulp of Finland, a capital, in whose port there arrives every year near two hundred and fifty foreign ships, and which hath sent forth armies to fix a king on the throne of Poland, assist the German empire against France, become masters of Crimea, and divest Sweden of part of its territories.

About this time Lapland began to be more particularly known, to which even the Swedes, the Danes, and the Russians had hitherto been in a manner strangers. This vast country, which borders upon the northern pole, had been described by Strabo, under the name of the country of the Troglodites, and Northern Pygmies. We have learnt that the race of Pygmies were not fictitious beings. It is probable that the Northern Pygmies have become extinct, or have been all destroyed by the neighbouring nations. Several kinds of men have disappeared from the face of the earth, as well as several kinds of animals.

The Laplanders do not appear in the least to resemble their neighbours; for example, the men of Norway are large and well made: whereas, Lapland produces no men taller than three cubits; their eyes, ears, and noses, again, are different from those of all the other people who surround them. They seem to be a species formed purposely for the climate they inhabit, which they themselves are delighted with, and which none but themselves can like. Nature seems to have produced the Laplanders, as she has done the rein-deer, peculiarly for that country: and as these animals are found nowhere else in the world, so neither the people appear to have come from any other part. It is not probable that

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the inhabitants of countries less savage would have passed over the most frightful deserts, covered with perpetual snows, to transplant themselves into so barren a part of the globe. One family may have been cast by a tempest upon a desert island, and have peopled this island; but no number of people would quit their habitations on the continent, where they were provided with some kind of nourishment, to settle themselves in a remote part, amidst rocks covered with moss, and where they could meet with no other subsistence than fish and the milk of rein-deers: besides, supposing people from Norway or Sweden to have transplanted themselves into Lapland, could they possibly have become so entirely changed in figure? How happens it that the Icelanders, who dwell as far northward as the Laplanders, are so tall in stature, and the Laplanders, on the contrary, not only very short, but of a quite different form? These were, therefore, a new species of men who made their appearance to us at the same time that

F 5

America

* Why may not men degenerate in stature, as well as trees? The seed or slip of a tall tree, sown or planted in a cold climate, shall rise a poor stunted shrub. That there should be a difference, in point of exteriors, between a native of Iceland and a Laplander, will not appear strange, when we consider these particulars: the climate of Iceland is mild and moderate, the soil fertile, the natives are well clothed, well fed, well housed, and enjoy the conveniencies of life. They are, in comparison to the Laplanders, a late colony, from a civilized people, who carried the arts of æconomy, and the comforts of living along with them to their new habitation; and are subsisted by commerce under the protection of laws and a regulated police. On the other hand, the cold of Lapland is in the winter almost intolerable; and in the summer the air is continually surcharged with unwholesome vapours, exhaled and perspired from immense morasses, lakes, and forests. The Laplanders are ill covered with skins, poorly fed, and miserably lodged in hovels, where they lie promiscuously, stewing in the midst of smoke from their fuel, and steams from the bodies of one another: nay, when their hunting proves unsuccessful or impracticable, they are almost starved for want of provision. All these circumstances must, without doubt, have had an effect in stunting the growth of their bodies in the course of propagation; even supposing them to be descendents of some more southern people, driven into these northern regions by the cruelty of their conquering neighbours.

America and Asia presented us with others. The sphere of nature now became enlarged to us on all sides; and it is on this consideration alone that Lapland merits our attention.

I shall not take any notice of Iceland, which was the Thulé of the antients; nor of Greenland, nor yet of all those countries bordering on the Pole, whither the hopes of discovering a passage into America have carried our navigators. The knowledge of these countries is as barren as the countries themselves, and does not enter into the political plan of the world.

Of POLAND.

POLAND, which for a long time retained the manners of the Sarmatians its first inhabitants, began to be of some consideration in Germany, after the Jagellonian race came to the throne; and was no longer the same country which was wont to receive its kings at the emperor's will, and pay him tribute.

The first of the Jagellon family was chosen king of this republic in the year 1382. He was duke of Lithuania, and was an idolater, as well as the rest of his countrymen, and a great part of the palatinate. He was made king upon a promise of becoming Christian, and incorporating Lithuania with Poland.

This Jagellon, who took the name of Ladislaus, was father to the unfortunate Ladislaus, who was king of Hungary and Poland, and formed to be one of the most powerful monarchs in the world, had he not unfortunately been defeated and slain in 1445, at the battle of Varna, which, at the instigation of cardinal Julian, he fought against the Turks, in defiance of his faith solemnly plighted.

The Turks, and the monkish knights of the Teutonic order, were a long time the two great enemies of Poland. The latter of these, who had formed themselves into a crusade, not being able to succeed in their attempts against the Mahometans, fell upon the idolatrous
and

and the Christian inhabitants of Prussia, which was then a province belonging to the Poles.

During the reign of Casimir, in the fifteenth century, the Teutonic knights waged a long war with Poland; and at length divided Prussia with this state, on condition that the grand master of their order should be a vassal of this kingdom, and, at the same time, a prince palatine, and have a seat in the diet.

At this time the palatines only had votes in the estates of the kingdom; but Casimir summoned deputies from the body of the nobility, in the year 1640, who have ever since maintained this privilege.

The nobles then had another privilege in common with that of the palatines, which was that of not being subject to arrest for any crime before they were juridically convicted: this was a kind of right of impunity. They had besides the right of life and death over their peasants, whom they might put to death with impunity, provided they threw the value of ten crowns into the grave: and if a Polish nobleman killed a peasant belonging to another nobleman, he was by the laws of honour obliged to give him another in his room; and, to the disgrace of human nature, this horrid privilege still subsists.

Sigismund, who was of the Jagellonian race, and died in 1548, was cotemporary with Charles V. and was esteemed a great prince. During his reign, the Poles had several wars with the Muscovites, and likewise with the Teutonic knights, while Albert of Brandenburg was their grand master. But war was all the Poles knew, without being acquainted with the military art; which was first carried to perfection in the southern parts of Europe. They fought in a confused and disorderly manner; they had no fortified places; and their chief strength consisted, as it still does, in their cavalry.

They wholly neglected trade; nor did they discover, till the thirteenth century, the salt-pits of Cracovia, which now constitute the chief wealth of the country. The corn and salt trade was left to Jews, and other foreigners, who grew rich by the proud indolence of the nobles and the slavery of the people. There were at that

that time in Poland no less than two hundred Jewish synagogues.

If we consider the government of this country, it will appear, in some respects, an image of the ancient government of the Franks, Muscovites, and Huns; and, in others, somewhat to resemble that of the ancient Romans, inasmuch as the nobles, like the tribunes of the Roman people, could oppose the passing any law in the senate by simply pronouncing the word *Veto*. This power, which extended even to all the gentlemen, and was carried so far as to give a right of annulling, by a single vote, all the other votes of the republic, is now become a kind of right of anarchy. The tribune was the magistrate of the people of Rome; whereas a gentleman in Poland is only a member and a subject of the state, and this member has the peculiar privilege of disturbing the whole body: but so dear is this privilege to self-love, that, if any one should attempt to propose in the diet an abolition of this custom, he would be certain of being torn in pieces.

In Poland, as well as in Sweden, in Denmark, and throughout the whole North, the only distinguishing title was that of Noble. The dignities of duke and count are of a later date, and are derived from the Germans; but these titles confer no power. The nobles are all upon an equality. The palatines, who deprived the people of their liberty, were wholly employed in defending their own against their kings; and, notwithstanding the Jagellon family were so long in possession of the throne, its princes were never either absolute in their royalty, nor even kings by right of birth, but were always chosen as chiefs of the state, and not as masters. In the oath taken by these kings, at their coronation, they expressly desired the nation to dethrone them, if they did not observe those laws they had sworn to maintain.

It was no very easy matter to preserve the right of election always free, and still continue the same family on the throne: but the kings having no strong holds in their possession, nor the management of the public treasury, nor the army, could not make any attack upon the liberties of the nation. The state allowed the king a yearly

yearly revenue of about twelve hundred thousand livres of our money, for the support of his dignity, which is more than the king of Sweden has to this day ; the emperor has no allowance, but is obliged to support, at his own expence, the dignity of Head of the Christian World, *Caput Orbis Christiani* ; while the island of Great Britain give their king near twenty-three millions for his civil list. The sale of the kingly office is now become in Poland one of the principal sources of the money which circulates in that kingdom. The capitation tax levied on the Jews, which is one of its largest revenues, does not amount to above 120,000 florins of the coin of the country.

With regard to the laws, the Poles had no written code in their own language, till the year 1552 *. The nobles, who were always of equal rank with each other, were governed by the resolutions taken in their assemblies, which is at present the only real law amongst them ; and the rest of the nation are guided only by these resolutions. As these nobles are the only possessors of lands, they are masters of all the rest of the people, and the husbandmen are no other than their slaves : they are likewise in possession of all the church benefices. It is the same in Germany ; but this is an express and general law in Poland ; whereas, in Germany, it is only an established custom ; indeed a custom greatly repugnant to Christianity, tho' agreeable to the spirit of the Germanic constitution. Rome, in all its different forms of government, from the times of its kings and consuls to the papal monarchy, has always enjoyed this advantage, that the door to honours and dignities was always open to pure merit.

Of

* It was in the fourteenth century that Casimir the Great introduced the Magdeburg laws, now called, *The Constitution of Poland*.

Of SWEDEN. and DENMARK.

THE kingdoms of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, were, like that of Poland, elective. The peasants and artificers were slaves in Norway and Denmark; but in Sweden they had a seat in the diets of the state, and gave their vote in the imposition of taxes. Never did two neighbouring nations entertain a more violent antipathy to each other than the Swedes and Danes; and yet these rival people formed only one state in the famous union of Calmar, at the end of the fourteenth century.

One of the Swedish kings, named Albert, having attempted to appropriate a third of the farms in the kingdom to his own use, his subjects revolted against him. Margaret of Waldemar, queen of Denmark, who was called the Semiramis of the North, took advantage of these troubles, and got herself acknowledged queen of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, in the year 1395. Two years afterwards she united these two kingdoms, which ought always to have continued under the dominion of one single sovereign.

When we recollect, that formerly the Danish pirates alone carried their victorious arms throughout the greater part of Europe, and conquered England and Normandy, and afterwards see that Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, though united, were not a formidable power to their neighbours, we may evidently conclude, that conquests are only to be made among an ill-governed people. The hanse towns of Hamburg, Lubeck, Dantzick, Rostock, Luneburg, and Wismar, alone were able to resist the power of these three kingdoms, on account of their superior riches; and the single city of Lubeck carried on a war against the successors of Margaret of Waldemar. This union of the three kingdoms, which appeared so fair at first sight, proved in the end the source of all their misfortunes.

There was in Sweden a primate, who was archbishop of Upsal, and six bishops who had almost the same authority

thority in that country, which most of the great ecclesiastics had acquired in Germany and other nations, especially the archbishop of Upsal, who was, like the primate of Poland, the second person in the kingdom. Whosoever is the second person in a state is always desirous of being the first.

It happened in the year 1452 that the estates of Sweden, tired of the Danish yoke, chose with one consent the grand marshal Charles Canutson for their king, and being equally weary of the power of the bishops, they ordered a perquisition to be made into the estates which the church had engrossed under favour of these troubles. The archbishop of Upsal, named John de Salstad, assisted by the six bishops of Sweden and the rest of the clergy, excommunicated the king and the senate at high mass, laid his ornaments upon the altar, and putting on a coat of mail, and taking a sword in his hand, quitted the church, and began a civil war, which the bishops afterwards continued for seven years. After this there was nothing but the most bloody anarchy, and a perpetual war between the Swedes, who wanted an independent king, and the Danes; the latter of which almost always gained the mastery. The clergy, who were at one time in arms for their country, and at another against it, reciprocally excommunicated, fought with, and plundered each other.

At length the Danes having gained the mastery, under the command of their king, John, son to Christian I. and the Swedes, being subdued, and having afterwards revolted again, this king John caused his senate in Denmark to publish an arret against that of Sweden, by which all the members of that senate were condemned to lose their nobility, and forfeit their estates. What is very singular is, that he caused this arret to be confirmed by the emperor Maximilian, and that this emperor wrote to the estates of Sweden, telling them,
“ That they were to pay obedience to that 1505
ordinance, or else that he would proceed
against them according to the laws of the empire.” I
do not know how the abbé Vertot, in his *Revolutions of*
Sweden,

Sweden, came to forget so important a transaction, which Puffendorf has so carefully preserved.

This fact is a plain proof, that both the German emperors and the popes have always pretended to an universal jurisdiction. It likewise proves, that that Danish king was willing to flatter Maximilian, whose daughter he afterwards obtained for his son Christian II. In this manner were rights established in those days. Maximilian's council wrote to the Swedes in the same manner as that of Charlemagne had done to the people of Benevento and Guienne: but he wanted the same number of forces, and the like power with Charlemagne.

This Christian II. after the death of his father, took very different steps. Instead of applying to the imperial chamber for an arret, he obtained four thousand men of Francis I. king of France. Before this time the French had never engaged in any of the quarrels of the North. It is probable that Francis I. who aspired to the imperial dignity, was willing to gain a support in Denmark. The French troops fought several battles against the Swedes, under Christian, but were very badly recompensed for their services, being sent home without pay, and set upon in their return by the peasants; so that not above 300 men returned alive to France, the usual fate of all expeditions sent too far distant from their own country.

We shall see what a tyrant this Christian was, when we come to the article of Lutheranism. One of his crimes proved the cause of his punishment, in the loss of his three kingdoms. He had lately made an agreement with an administrator created by the estates of Sweden, whose name was Steno Sture; but he seemed to fear this administrator less than he did the young Gustavus Vasa, nephew to king Canutson, a prince of the most enterprising courage, and the hero and idol of the Swedes; and pretending to be desirous of having a conference with the administrator in Stockholm, demanded of him, at the same time, to bring with him on board his fleet, then lying in the road, the young Gustavus, with six other noblemen as hostages. As

soon

soon as they were come on board his ship, he put them all in irons, and made sail to Denmark with his prize. After this he made preparations for an open war, in which Rome took part. We will now see how she came to enter into it, and in what manner she was deceived. 1518

Troll, archbishop of Upsal, (whose cruelties I shall relate when I come to speak of Lutheranism) and who had been chosen primate by the clergy, confirmed by pope Leo X. and was united in interest with Christian, was afterwards deposed by the estates of Sweden, in 1517, and condemned to do perpetual penance in a monastery. For this the estates were excommunicated by the pope in the customary stile. This excommunication, which was nothing in itself, was rendered very formidable by the power of Christian's arms.

There was at that time in Denmark a legate from the pope, named Arcemboldi, who had sold indulgences throughout the three kingdoms. Such had been the address of this priest, or the weakness of the people, that he had raised near two millions of florins in these countries, tho' the poorest in Europe, which he was going to send over to Rome; but Christian seized on them as a supply for the war he was carrying on against the excommunicated Danes. This war proved successful; Christian was acknowledged king, and archbishop Troll was reinstated in his dignity. It was after this restoration that the king and his primate gave that fatal feast in Stockholm, at which he caused all the members of the senate, and a great many citizens to be massacred*. While these things were transacting, Gustavus

* The circumstances of this massacre were truly horrible. It was the first of All Saints, in the year 1520, when all the grandees and noblemen of Sweden were invited to the king's coronation. Christian himself walked at their head to the cathedral, where, at the ceremony of coronation, he swore upon the sacrament he would preserve the privileges of the Swedish nation, and maintain the most sincere friendship with the senators and grandees of the kingdom, who took the oath of allegiance in their turn. They returned to the palace, where they were splendidly entertained at the

Gustavus escaped from his confinement, and fled into Sweden. He was obliged to conceal himself for some time in the mountains of Dalecarlia, in the disguise of a peasant. He even worked in the mines, either for his subsistence, or the better concealing himself: but at length he made himself known to these savage people, who being from their rustic simplicity utter strangers to politics, held tyranny in the most detestable light. They agreed to follow him, and Gustavus soon saw himself at the head of an army. The use of fire-arms was not then at all known to these rude men, and but imperfectly to the Swedes. This always threw the victory on the side of the Danes: but Gustavus, having bought a number of muskets upon his own account at Lubeck, soon engaged them upon an equality.

Lubeck not only furnished him with arms, but it likewise sent him troops, without which Gustavus could not have succeeded; so that the fate of Sweden depended on a simple trading city. Christian was at that time in Denmark, and the archbishop of Upsal sustained the whole weight of the war against this deliverer of his country. At length, by an event not very common, the party which had justice on its side, prevailed; and Gustavus, after several unsuccessful attempts, beat the tyrant's lieutenants, and remained master of part of the country.

Christian,

the king's expence. In the midst of their festivity he arose and retired to a closet: then the hall was immediately filled with armed men, who secured the guests, until a scaffold could be raised before the palace gate: on this, all the bishops and grandees were beheaded, except the grand prior of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, whom Christian reserved as an extraordinary victim. He was stretched on a St. Andrew's cross, and being opened alive, his heart was plucked out of his breast. The nobles being thus executed, a signal was given, at which the soldiers fell upon the populace, and butchered them without mercy. Next day an amnesty being published, those of the burghers that remained ventured to come forth, and were immediately put to the sword. Six bishops, who had not been present at the coronation, were invited to Stockholm, to be consulted by the king, and were no sooner lodged in that capital, than the tyrant ordered the house to be set on fire, so that they perished in the flames.

Christian, grown furious by this disgrace, committed an action which even after what 1521 we have already seen of him, appears almost an incredible piece of wickedness. He for a long time had the mother and sister of Gustavus in his power at Copenhagen, and now ordered these two princesses to be both sewed up in a sack, and thrown alive into the sea.

Though this tyrant was so well skilled in working his revenge, he did not know how to fight; and while he could murder two poor defenceless women, did not dare to venture into Sweden to face Gustavus. At length the cruelties he exercised upon his subjects, in common with his enemies, rendered him as detestable to the people of Copenhagen as to the Swedes.

As the Danes had the power of electing their kings, so they likewise had that of punishing a tyrant. The first who renounced his authority were the people of Jutland, or the duchy of Sleswick. His uncle Frederic, duke of Holstein, took advantage of this just insurrection of the people, and right being supported by force, all the inhabitants of that part which formerly composed the Cimbrica Chersonesus, deputed the chief justice of Jutland to signify to the tyrant the sentence of deposition.

This intrepid magistrate had the resolution to carry the sentence to Christian in the midst of Copenhagen: the tyrant finding all the rest of his kingdom wavering, himself hated even by his own officers, and not daring to trust any one, received in his own palace like a criminal the sentence declared to him by a single man unarmed. The name of this magistrate deserves to be handed down to posterity: he was called Mons. "My name, said he, ought to be written over the doors of all bad princes." The kingdom of Denmark acquiesced with the sentence, and there never was an instance of a revolution so just and sudden, and so quietly effected. The king deposed himself by flying the kingdom, and retiring into the dominions of his brother-in-law, Charles V. in Flanders, whose assistance he long implored. 1523

His

His uncle Frederic was elected at Copenhagen, king of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden; but of this last he had only the title; for the Swedes chose Gustavus Vasa their king, who had made himself master of Stockholm about the same time, and perfectly well knew how to defend the kingdom he had delivered. Christian, who, with his archbishop Troll, was now a wanderer, made an attempt some few years afterwards to get possession of some part of his dominions. He depended upon the assistance of a male-content party in the kingdom, which is always the consequence of a new reign, and which he now found both in Sweden and Denmark: with these he entered Norway. Gustavus had introduced a change in the religion of the Swedes, and Frederic had permitted his Danes to change theirs. Christian professed himself a good Catholic, but was not for that either a better prince, or a better general, nor more beloved; so that in the end his enterprize proved ineffectual.

Abandoned at length by every one, he suffered himself to be carried to Denmark in the year 1532, where he ended his days in a prison. Archbishop Troll, who, prompted by a restless ambition, had prevailed on the city of Lubeck to take up arms against the Danes, died of the wounds he received in battle, and concluded his life with more glory than Christian: both of them merited a more tragical end.

Gustavus, the deliverer of his country, now enjoyed his honours in peace. He first convinced foreign nations what weight Sweden might have in the affairs of Europe, at a time when the politics of that country put on a new face, and they began to think of establishing a balance of power.

Francis I. made an alliance with him; and, notwithstanding that Gustavus was a Lutheran, sent him the collar of his order, though expressly against the statutes. Gustavus spent the remainder of his life in endeavouring to regulate his kingdom. It required all the prudence he was master of to secure his administration against the troubles, likely to arise on account of the change he had made in religion. The Dalecarlians,

who

who had been the first to assist him in mounting the throne, were the first to raise commotions. Their savage rusticity rendered them attached to the ancient customs of their church; and they were Catholics in the same manner as they were barbarians, by birth and education, as may be conceived from a petition which they presented to him, wherein they desired the king would not wear any cloaths made after the French fashion; and would order all those to be burnt who eat meat on a Friday: this last article was almost the only one in which the Lutherans were distinguished from the Catholics.

The king suppressed these first emotions, and established his religion by judiciously preserving the bishops, and at the same time diminishing their revenues and power. He shewed a proper regard to the ancient laws of the kingdom, and caused his son Eric * to be declared his successor, by the estates, in 1544; and he even procured the crown to remain in his family, on condition, that if his race should become extinct, the estates should again resume their right of election; and that if only a princess remained, she should be allowed a certain portion, without having any pretensions to the crown.

Such was the situation of affairs in the North, in the time of Charles V. The manners of all these people were simple but austere, and their virtues were fewer, as their ignorance was greater. The titles of count, marquis, baron, and knight, and most of the other badges of vain glory, had not found their way at all among the Swedes, and but very little among the Danes; but then the most useful inventions were likewise unknown to them. They had no settled commerce, nor any manufactures. Gustavus Vasa, by drawing the Swedes from their state of obscurity, inspired the Danes by his example.

Of

* Voltaire, by mistake, says Frederic.

Of HUNGARY.

THE constitution of this government was exactly the same with that of Poland. Its kings were elected by the diets: the palatine of Hungary had the same authority as the primate of Poland, and was moreover judge between the king and the nation. Such was formerly the power or privilege of the palatine of the empire, the mayor of the palace in France, and the justiciary of Arragon. We find that in all monarchies the regal power was in its beginning counterbalanced by some other.

The nobles had the same privileges as in Poland; I mean those of being screened from all punishment, and of disposing of the lives of their peasants or bondmen. The common people were slaves. The chief forces of this kingdom consisted in the cavalry, which was formed of the nobles and their followers. The infantry was a heap of peasants gathered together, without order or discipline, who took the field in sowing time, and continued in it till harvest.

We may recollect that this kingdom first embraced Christianity about the year 1000 †. Stephen, the chief of the Hungarians, who was desirous of being made king, employed on this occasion the force of arms and religion. Pope Sylvester II. gave him not only the title of king, but of apostolic king likewise. Some writers say that it was John XVIII. or XIX. who conferred these two honours on Stephen, in the year 1003, or 1004. Such discussions, however, have nothing to do with the end of my enquiries. I shall therefore content myself with observing, that, on account of this title's having been conferred by a bull, the popes pretended to exact a tribute from the Hungarians, and that it is in virtue of the term *apostolic*, that the kings of Hungary pretend to a right of bestowing all the church benefices in the kingdom.

† See Vol. I.

We may observe that kings and even whole nations have been governed by certain prejudices. The chief of a warlike people did not dare to assume the title of king, without the pope's permission. This kingdom, and that of Poland likewise, were governed on the model of the Germanic empire; and yet the kings of Poland and Hungary, though they made counts, had never dared to create dukes, and were so far from taking the title of majesty, that they were at that time only styled, your excellency.

The emperors even looked upon Hungary as a fief of the empire; and Conrad the Salic actually received homage and tribute from king Peter; while the popes on their side maintained that they had a right to bestow this crown, because they were the first who gave the title of king to the chief of the Hungarian nation.

And here it will be necessary to take a short retrospect of those times, when the house of France, which had furnished kings to Portugal, England, and Naples, beheld likewise one of its branches seated on the throne of Hungary.

About the year 1290, this throne being vacant, the emperor, Rodolph of Hapsburg, gave the investiture of it to his son Albert of Austria, as he would bestow a common fief. Pope Nicholas IV. on his side, conferred this kingdom as a church benefice on the grandson of the famous Charles of Anjou, brother to St. Lewis, who was king of Naples and Sicily. This nephew of St. Lewis was called Charles Martel, and laid claim to the kingdom, because his mother Mary of Hungary was sister to the last deceased king of Hungary. With a free people, it is not the being a relation to the king that can confer a title to the throne; and the Hungarians accepted neither the sovereign nominated by the emperor, nor him whom the pope appointed for them, but fixed upon Andrew, surnamed the Venetian, a prince who was also of the blood royal. Upon this there followed excommunications and wars; but after his death, and that of his competitor Charles Martel, the decree of the Roman tribunal was carried into execution.

Boniface

Boniface VIII. in 1303, four months before the affront he received from the king of France, the grief for which is said to have occasioned his death, had the honour to see the cause of the house of Anjou brought before his tribunal *. Mary, queen of Naples, spoke in person before the consistory; and Boniface bestowed Hungary on prince Carobert, son to Charles Martel, and grandson to this Mary.

This Carobert then was in fact king by the 1308 pope's favour and maintained upon the throne by his interest and his sword. The kingdom of Hungary became more powerful under him than the emperors, who looked upon it as one of their fiefs. Carobert re-annexed to his kingdom the provinces of Dalmatia, Croatia, Servia, Transylvania, Walachia, and Moldavia, which had been rent from it at different times.

Carobert's son, Lewis, brother to that Andrew, king of Hungary, whom his wife Joan of Naples caused to be strangled, still farther increased the Hungarian power. He went to Naples to revenge his brother's murder, and assisted Charles Durazzo to dethrone queen Joan, but without being any way instrumental in the cruel manner in which Durazzo caused that unhappy princess to be put to death. After his return to Hungary he acquired true glory, by doing justice to his people, enacting wise laws, and abolishing the custom of trials by the hot iron, and boiling water, which were always in the greatest credit, when the people were most civilized.

We have all along observed that there never was a truly great man who was not a lover of letters. This prince cultivated geometry and astronomy, and countenanced the other arts: it is to this philosophic genius, so rare at that time, that we are to attribute the abolition of the superstitious trials above-mentioned. A king who was master of sound reasoning was a prodigy in those countries. His courage was equal to his other qualifications: he was beloved by his own subjects,

and

* See chap. liii. Vol. II.

and admired by strangers. Towards the latter part of his life, in 1370, the Poles made choice of him for their king: he reigned happily in Hungary forty years, and over the Poles twelve. His people gave him the surname of the Great, which he well deserved; and yet this prince is hardly known in Europe, because he did not reign over men capable of transmitting his fame and virtues to other nations. How few know that in the fourteenth century there was a Lewis the Great in the Carpathian mountains!

He was so much beloved, that the estates, in 1382, bestowed the crown on his daughter Mary, not then marriageable, by the title of *King Mary*, a title which has in our time been renewed in favour of a daughter of the last emperor of the house of Austria.

This all serves to shew, that if in hereditary kingdoms the people sometimes find reason to complain of a despotic abuse of the supreme power, elective states are on their part exposed to still more violent storms, and that even liberty itself, which is so natural and inestimable a blessing, is sometimes productive of great misfortunes.

Young king Mary and her kingdom were both under the government of her mother Elizabeth of Bosnia, who being disagreeable to the grandees, they made use of their right, and placed the crown on another head, and made Charles Durazzo, surnamed the Little, king: who was descended in a direct line from St. Lewis's brother, who reigned in the two Sicilies. Charles arrived at Naples, from Buda, and was solemnly crowned in 1386, and acknowledged king by Elizabeth herself.

We now come to one of those strange events, with regard to which the laws are wholly silent, and leave us in doubt whether it may not be a crime even to punish vice.

Elizabeth and her daughter Mary, after having lived in as good correspondence with Durazzo as it was possible to do with a person who was in possession of their crown, invited him to their apartment, where they caused him to be murdered in their presence; after

which they prevailed on the people to join them, and young Mary, who was still directed by her mother, resumed the crown.

Some time afterwards, Elizabeth and Mary made a journey into Lower Hungary, and in their way imprudently passed thro' the lands of the count of Hornac, who was ban of Croatia. This ban was what they call in Hungary a supreme count, who has the command of the armies, and the executing justice. This nobleman was particularly attached to the murdered king; was it then, or was it not, lawful for him to revenge the death of his king? He soon came to a resolution, and seemed to consult only justice in the cruelty of his revenge; he caused the two queens to be tried, after which he ordered Elizabeth to be drowned, and kept Mary in prison, as the least guilty of the two.

At the same time Sigismund, who was afterwards emperor, entered Hungary, and espoused queen Mary. The ban of Croatia, who thought himself sufficiently powerful, had the boldness to carry that princess himself to Sigismund, after having drowned her mother, thinking, as we may suppose, that he had done only an act of severe justice; but Sigismund ordered his flesh to be torn off with red-hot pincers, and he died amidst the most dreadful torments. His death caused an insurrection of the nobles of Hungary; and this whole reign was one continual succession of troubles and factions.

It is possible to reign over a great number of states, and yet not be a powerful prince; this Sigismund was, at one and the same time, emperor, and king of Bohemia and Hungary: but in Hungary he was beaten by the Turks, and once confined in prison by his subjects, who had revolted against him. In Bohemia he was almost continually at war with the Hussites; and in the empire his authority was almost always counterbalanced by the prerogatives of the grandees, and the privileges of the great cities.

In 1438 Albert of Austria, son-in-law of Sigismund, was the first prince of the house of Austria who had reigned in Hungary.

This

This Albert was, like Sigismund, both emperor and king of Bohemia, but he did not reign above three years; and this short reign was the cause of intestine divisions, which, together with the irruption of the Turks, depopulated Hungary, and made it one of the most miserable countries in the world.

The Hungarians, who always preserved their liberty, would not accept for their king a child, which Albert of Austria left at his death, but chose Uladislaus, or Ladislaus, king of Poland, who, in 1444, lost the famous battle of Varna, together with his life, as has been before related.

Frederic III. of Austria, who was emperor in 1440, took the title of king of Hungary, but never was so in reality. He kept the son of Albert of Austria, whom I shall call Ladislaus Albert, prisoner in Vienna, while John Hunniades was making head in Hungary against Mahomet II. who conquered so many states. This John Hunniades was not king, but he was general and idol of a free and warlike people, and no king ever possessed a more absolute power.

After his death the house of Austria had the crown of Hungary. This Ladislaus Albert was elected king, and caused one of the sons of this John Hunniades, the revenger of his country, to be put to death by the hands of the executioner: but, with a free people, tyranny never goes unpunished: Ladislaus was driven from a throne which he had stained with such illustrious blood, and paid for his cruelty by a perpetual exile.

There still remained a son of the great Hunniades: this was Matthias Corvinus, whom the Hungarians, with great difficulty, and not without paying a large sum of money, rescued out of the hands of the house of Austria. This prince waged war both with the emperor Frederic III. and the Turk, from the former of whom he took Austria, and drove the latter out of Upper Hungary.

After his death, which happened in 1490, the house of Austria was continually endeavouring to add Hungary to its other dominions. The emperor Maximilian, even though he had again entered Vienna, could

not obtain this kingdom, which was bestowed upon another Ladislaus, a king of Bohemia, whom I shall call Ladislaus of Bohemia.

The Hungarians, after the example of the nobles in Poland, and the electors of the empire, in thus chusing their own kings, always limited the royal authority: but it must be acknowledged, that the Hungarian nobles were petty tyrants, who would not suffer a greater tyrant over them; their liberty was no other than a fatal independency, and they reduced the rest of the nation to so wretched a state of slavery, that the peasants and common people being unable longer to support such continual oppressions, took up arms against these cruel masters; and a civil war, which lasted four years, still farther weakened this unhappy kingdom. At length the nobles, being better provided with arms and money than the peasants, gained the mastery; and this war ended in redoubled miseries to the people, who to this day continue the actual slaves of the grantees.

A country which had been so long a prey to devastations, and where there remained only a slavish and discontented people, under masters almost always at variance among themselves, was no longer able of itself to resist the arms of the Turkish sultans. Accordingly we find, that when young Lewis II. son to this Ladislaus of Bohemia, and father-in-law to Charles V. attempted to oppose the arms of Solyman, the whole kingdom of Hungary was not able to furnish him with an army of more than thirty thousand fighting men. One Tomeres, a Franciscan friar, who was general of this army, in which there were five other bishops, promised Lewis the victory; but his whole army was cut to pieces in the famous battle of Mohats, in 1526, and the king himself slain. After this victory, Solyman over-ran all this wretched kingdom, and carried two hundred thousand captives away with him.

Nature in vain furnished this country with gold-mines, and the more substantial riches of corn and wine; in vain she formed its inhabitants robust, well-made, and ingenious; nothing now remained to the

view

view but a vast desert, with ruined cities, and fields tilled with the sword in hand, villages dug under ground, in which the inhabitants buried themselves with their provisions and cattle, and a few fortified castles, for the sovereignty of which the possessors were always in arms against the Turks and the Germans.

There were likewise several other fine countries of Europe that were desolated, and lay uncultivated and uninhabited; such as one half of Dalmatia, the north of Poland, the banks of the Tanais, and the fruitful country of the Ukraine, while search was making after other lands in a new world, and as far as the limits of the old.

OF SCOTLAND.

IN this sketch of the political government of the North, I must not forget Scotland, of which I shall speak further when I come to treat of the article of religion.

Scotland had rather a greater share in the system of Europe than the other nations of the north, because as being at enmity with the English, who were always endeavouring to subject it, it had for a long time been in alliance with France, whose kings could easily prevail upon the Scotch to take arms in their favour whenever it was necessary; and we find that Francis I. sent no more than thirty thousand crowns (which makes about one hundred and thirty thousand of our present livres) to the party who were to get war declared against the English in 1543. In fact, Scotland is so poor, that even at this time, when it is united with England, it pays only the fortieth part of the subsidies of the two kingdoms*.

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* This is the case only in one branch of the revenue, namely, the land-tax; in almost all the other impositions the Scots pay the same as the English: that is, they raise their proportion of those annual sums required to pay the interest of one hundred and twenty millions, being at this day the debt of the British nation.

A poor state, which has a rich one for its neighbour, must at length become venal: but so long as this country kept itself free, it was formidable. The English, who under Henry II. conquered Ireland with so much ease, could never subdue Scotland; and Edward III. who was a great warrior and a deep politician, tho' he conquered it could never keep it. There always subsisted a jealousy and hatred between the Scotch and the English, not unlike that between the Spaniards and Portuguese. The house of Stewart had sate on the throne of Scotland ever since the year 1370: never was there a more unfortunate family. James I. after having been prisoner in England eighteen years, was murdered by his subjects in 1444, and James II. was killed in the unfortunate expedition to Roxburgh*, when he was only nine and twenty years old. James III. before he was five and thirty, was slain by his own subjects in a pitched battle. James IV. son-in-law to Henry VII. king of England, fell at the age of thirty-nine in a battle against the English in the year 1513, after a very unfortunate reign†; and James V. died in the flower of his age, in the year 1542, when he was not quite thirty.

We shall see, that the daughter of James V. was still more unfortunate than any of her predecessors, and added to the number of those queens who have died by the hands of the executioner. James VI. her son, became afterwards king of Scotland, England, and Ireland, only, thro' the weakness of his intellects, to lay the foundations of those revolutions which afterward brought the head of Charles I. to the block, and drove James VII. into exile, and still keeps this unfortunate family outcasts and wanderers at a distance from their own country. The most favourable times for this house were, during the reigns of Charles V. and Francis V. James V. who was father to Mary Stewart, sate on the throne of Scotland;

* The expedition was successful, inasmuch as the place was taken after the king's death.

† The reign of James IV. was by no means unfortunate before his last expedition into England.

land; and after his death, his widow, Mary of Lorraine, mother to this Mary, was appointed regent of the kingdom, and it was during her administration that the troubles first began to break out under pretence of religion, as we shall hereafter see.

I shall not dwell any longer on this review of the kingdoms of the North in the sixteenth century; having already examined the terms in which Germany, England, France, Italy, and Spain, stood with each other, I have hereby acquired a sufficient introductory knowledge to the interests of the North and South, and shall now examine more particularly into the state of Europe.

C H A P. XCIX.

OF GERMANY and the EMPIRE.

THE western empire still subsisted in name; but it had been for a long time only a burthensome title, as may appear from its having been refused by the ambitious Edward III. of England, when offered to him by the electors in 1348. Charles IV. who was looked upon as the law-giver of the empire, could not obtain permission of pope Innocent VI. and the barons of Rome to be crowned emperor in that city, till he had promised not to lie a night within the walls. His famous golden bull, by limiting the number of electors, restored some order in Germany, which had before been a continued scene of anarchy. This law was, at its first institution, considered as fundamental, but has since been frequently departed from. In his time all the cities of Lombardy were actually free and independent of the empire, excepting only in some particular rights. Every lord in Germany and Lombardy remained sovereign of his own territories during all the succeeding reigns.

The times of Winceſlaus, Robert, Joſſe, and Sigismund, were times of darkneſs, in which there appeared no trace of the imperial dignity, except in the council of Conſtance, which was aſſembled by Sigismund, and in which that emperor ſhone forth in full glory.

The emperors had no longer any demefnes, having ceded them at different times to the biſhops and cities, either to procure themſelves a ſupport againſt the power of the lords of great fiefs, or to raiſe money. They had now nothing left but the ſubſidy of the Roman months, which was paid only in time of war, and for defraying the expences of the vain ceremony of the emperor's coronation at Rome, which ſtill ſubſiſted. It was abſolutely neceſſary therefore to elect a chief who was powerful of himſelf, and this firſt brought the ſceptre into the houſe of Auſtria. A prince was wanting, whoſe dominions might on the one hand have a communication with Italy, and on the other be capable of oppoſing the incuſſions of the Turks; and this advantage Germany found in Albert II. who was duke of Auſtria, and king of Bohemia and Hungary; and this firſt fixed the imperial dignity in his houſe, and the throne became hereditary, without ceaſing to be elective. Albert and his ſucceſſors were choſen on account of the large dominions they poſſeſſed; and Rodolph of Hapsburg, one of the ſtocks of that houſe, had formerly been elected becauſe he had none. The reaſon of this ſeeming contradiction is obvious; Rodolph was elected at a time when the houſes of Saxony and Suabia had given reaſon to fear their becoming deſpotic, and Albert II. when the houſe of Auſtria was thought ſufficiently powerful to defend the empire, and yet not to enſlave it.

Frederic III. aſcended the imperial throne by this title. Germany was in his time in a ſtate of inability and peace. It was not ſo powerful as it might have been; and we have already ſeen that this prince was very far from being the ſovereign of Chriſtendom, as his epitaph imports*.

Maximilian

* See Chap. xcv.

Maximilian I. while he was yet only king of the Romans, began his career in the most glorious manner, by the victory of Guinegaste, which he gained over the French in 1479, and the treaty he made with them in 1492, by which he secured the possession of the Franche Comté, Artois, and Charolois. But as he drew nothing from the Low Countries, which belonged to his son Philip the Fair, nor from the people of Germany, and very little from his dominions in France, he would never have been of any consideration in Italy, had it not been for the league of Cambray, and Lewis XII. who did every thing for him.

At first the pope and the Venetians prevented him, in the year 1508, from coming to Rome to be crowned emperor; and he took the title of emperor elect, as he could not be crowned emperor by the pope. We see him after the league of Cambray, and in the year 1513, receiving the daily pension of an hundred crowns from the English king, Henry VIII *. His German dominions furnished him with men to take the field against the Turk, but he wanted those riches with which France, England, and Italy, carried on their wars at that time.

Germany was become in reality a republic of princes and cities, notwithstanding that its chief in his edicts spoke in the strain of absolute master of the whole world. It had been divided in the year 1500 into six circles; and the directors of these circles being sovereign princes, and the generals and colonels paid by the provinces and not by the emperor, this establishment, by linking together all the several parts of the empire, secured the liberty of the whole. The imperial chamber, which had the passing of final judgment, being paid by the princes of cities, and not having its seat in the particular demesnes of the monarch, proved another support to the public liberty. It is true it could never carry its decrees into execution against powerful princes, unless seconded by the empire; but this very abuse of liberty was a

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proof.

* See Chap. xcii.

proof of its real existence : this is so notorious, that the Aulic court, which was first formed in 1512, and was entirely under the direction of the emperors, soon proved the strongest support to their authority.

Germany, under this form of government, was at that time as happy a state as any in the world. Inhabited by a warlike people, who were capable of the greatest military operations ; there was no probability of the Turks being ever able to subdue it. Its lands were good, and so well cultivated, that the inhabitants were at least under no necessity, as formerly, of seeking for other settlements : at the same time they were neither so rich nor so poor, nor so united together, as to be in a condition to make the conquest of all Italy.

But what were at that time its pretensions upon Italy and the Roman empire ? The same as those of the Othos and the imperial house of Suabia had been ; the same which had cost such a deluge of blood, and which had undergone so many alterations since Julius II. who was patriarch as well as pontiff of Rome, had the imprudence, instead of rousing the antient Roman courage, to call in the assistance of foreigners. Rome had nothing left but to repent of her folly ; for since that time there had always been a private war between the empire and the pontificate, as well as between the pretensions of the emperor and the liberties of the Italian provinces. The title of Cæsar was only a source of contested rights, undetermined disputes, exterior grandeur, and real weakness. These times were no longer those in which the Othos created kings, and imposed tributes upon them. If Lewis XII. had maintained a good understanding with the Venetians, instead of taking up arms against them, the emperors would, in all probability, never have set foot again in Italy. But from the divisions among the Italian princes, and the nature of the pontifical government, it unavoidably happened that a great part of this country was always to be a prey to foreigners.

C H A P. C.

CUSTOMS of the fifteenth and sixteenth CENTURIES,
and the State of the LIBERAL ARTS.

WE find that there were few absolute sovereigns in Europe; the emperors before Charles V. had never ventured to aim at despotic power. The popes, though much more the masters of Rome than formerly, had much less power in the church; the crown of Hungary and Bohemia, like the other kingdoms in the North, were elective; and an election necessarily supposes a contract between prince and people. The kings of England could neither make laws nor break them, without the consent of their parliaments. Isabella of Castile had acknowledged the rights of the Cortes, which were all the estates of the kingdom. Ferdinand the Catholic, of Arragon, had not been able to abolish the authority of the grand justiciary of that kingdom, who looked upon himself as entitled to be the judge of kings. France alone was changed into a state purely monarchical, after the reign of Lewis XI. A happy form of government, when a king like Lewis XII. appeared, who, by his love to his people, made amends for all the faults he committed, with regard to other nations.

The civil government of Europe was greatly improved by the stop which had every where been put to the private wars between the feudal lords. The custom of duels, however, was still continued.

The popes by their decrees, which were always wise, and, what is more, always beneficial to Christendom, when their own private interests were not concerned, had anathematized these combats; but they were still permitted by several of the bishops; and the parliaments of Paris sometimes ordered them, witness the famous one between Legris and Carrouges, in the reign
of

of Charles V. There were several other duels fought by order of the courts. The same evil practice was likewise kept up in Germany, Italy, and Spain, with the sanction of certain forms, which were looked upon as essential; particularly that of confessing and taking the sacraments before they prepared for murder. The good Chevalier de Bayard always heard a mass before he went into the field to fight a duel. The combatants always chose a second, who was to take care that their weapons were equal, and to make diligent search that neither of them had any spell about them; for nothing on earth was so credulous as a knight.

Some of these knights have been known to leave their own country, and go into foreign parts in search of a duel, without any other motive than that of signalizing themselves. Duke John of Bourbon, in the year 1414, caused it to be proclaimed, "that he was going to England with sixteen other knights, to fight to extremity", that he might avoid idleness, and merit the favour of the fair lady whom he served."

Tournaments, though condemned likewise by the popes, were practised every where. They always went by the name of *Ludi Gallici*, or the French games; because one Geoffroi de Preuilly had, in the eleventh century, published a body of rules to be observed in them. Upwards of one hundred knights had been killed in these games; but this only served to make them more in vogue.

It was thought that the death of Henry II. †, who was killed at a tournament held in 1559, would have
abolished

* When a knight challenged all the world, he wore an emprise, consisting of a gold chain, or some other badge of love and chivalry. Sometimes this emprise was fixed up in a public place. When another knight accepted the challenge for a trial of chivalry, called the Combat of Courtesy, he gently touched the emprise; but if he was determined to fight the owner *à outrance*, to extremity, he tore away the emprise with force and violence.

† For the celebration of a general peace, Henry, among other festivities, instituted a tournament, or *Pas d'Armes*, in which he signalized himself personally with great address: at length, he sent
a lance

abolished this custom for ever; but the idle lives of the great, long use, and the passions, revived these games at Orleans, in less than a year after the tragical death of Henry; when Henry of Bourbon, duke of Montpensier and a prince of the blood, lost his life likewise by a fall from his horse. After this an entire stop was put to tournaments; but a faint image of them remained in the Pas d'Armes, held by Charles IX. and Henry III. the year after the massacre of St. Bartholomew: for in those bloody times they always intermixed feasts and diversions with their barbarous proscriptions. This Pas d'Armes was not attended with any danger, as the combatants did not engage with sharp weapons. There was no tournament held on the marriage of the duke of Joyeuse in 1581. The word Tournament is therefore very improperly given by L'Etoile, in his Journal, to the shews exhibited on this occasion. The grandees did not fight at all; and what L'Etoile calls a Tournament was only a warlike ballet or interlude, exhibited in the gardens of the Louvre, by a company of hired performers; and was a shew given to the court, and not given by the court itself. The games which still continued to go by the name of tournaments were only carousals.

We may therefore date the suppression of tournaments from the year 1560. With these games expired the ancient spirit of chivalry, which never appeared again but in romances. This kind of spirit was very prevalent in the time of Francis I. and Charles V. Francis was a knight in the true sense of the word, and Charles aimed at being such §. They would give each other the lie in public, and afterwards meet together in the most friendly manner; and it is known that the emperor put himself

a lance to the count of Montgomery, captain of the Scotch guard. They accordingly entered the lists, ran a tilt, shivered their lances, when a splinter running through the vizor of the king's helmet, penetrated through the eye into the brain: of this wound he expired in a few days.

§ Nevertheless the behaviour of Francis, when he received the last formal cartel of personal defiance from the emperor, was such as gives no great idea of his manhood.

self into the hands of the king of France upon no other security than that of his word of honour, which the king was not capable of violating. There are several occurrences in the reigns of those two princes which favour greatly of the heroic and fabulous ages ; but Charles V. approached nearer to our modern times in the refinement of his politics.

The art of war, the law of arms, and the offensive and defensive weapons made use of in those days, were likewise entirely different from what they are at present.

The emperor Maximilian had introduced the arms made use of by the Macedonian phalanx, which were spears of eighteen feet in length, and were used by the Swiss in the wars of Milan ; but they were soon laid aside for the two-handed sword.

The arquebuse, or firelock, was become a necessary weapon against the steel ramparts, by which the gendarmerie of those days were defended. No helmet or cuirass was proof against these. The gendarmerie, which they called the Battalion, fought on foot as well as on horseback : the French gendarmerie was in most estimation in the fifteenth century.

The German and Spanish infantry were reputed the best. The war-cry was almost every where laid aside.

As to the government of states, at this time, I find cardinals at the head of the administration in almost every kingdom. In Spain I see cardinal Ximenes, who ruled under Isabella of Castile during her life ; and after her death was appointed regent of the kingdom, who, always clad in the habit of a Franciscan friar, placed his chief pride in treading under feet the Spanish grandeur ; who raised an army at his own expence, and afterwards led it in person into Africa, and took the city of Oran ; in a word, who had made himself absolute, till young Charles V. drove him from the helm of power, and obliged him to retire to his archbishopric of Toledo, where he died of grief.

In France, I see Lewis XII. governed by cardinal d'Amboise, and cardinal Duprat prime minister to Francis I. Henry VIII. of England was, for the space of twenty years, entirely under the direction of cardinal
Wolsey,

Wolsey, a man as vain-glorious as d'Amboise, and who like him, wanted to be pope, and like him failed in his attempt. Charles V. made his preceptor, cardinal Adrian, who was afterwards pope, his prime minister in Spain; and cardinal Granvelle had afterwards the government of Flanders. Lastly, cardinal Martinusius was master of Hungary, under Ferdinand, brother to Charles V.

Though we see so many military states governed all of them by churchmen, this did not proceed merely from those princes being more ready to place their confidence in a priest, of whose power they could stand in no apprehension, than in the general of an army, who might in time become formidable to them; but also, because the churchmen were generally men of more knowledge, and more capable of managing public affairs than either the military officers or the courtiers.

It was not till this century that those cardinals, who were the king's subjects, took precedence of the chancellor of the kingdom. They disputed it with the electors of the empire, and yielded it to the chancellors in France and England; and this again is one of those contradictions which pride had introduced into the republic of Christendom. By the registers of the English parliament we find, that the lord chancellor Warham had precedence of cardinal Wolsey till the year 1516.

The title of majesty began now to be assumed by kings, and the ranks of the several sovereigns were settled at Rome. The first place was, without contradiction, assigned to the emperor; after him came the king of France, without a competitor; the kings of Castile, Aragon, Portugal, and Sicily, took rank in turns with the king of England; then came Scotland, Hungary, Navarre, Cyprus, Bohemia, and Poland; and, last of all, Denmark and Sweden. Great disputes arose afterwards from this settling of the precedence. The kings, almost to a man, wanted to be equal in rank with each other; but not one of them attempted to dispute the chief place with the emperors, who thus preserved their rank while they lost their authority.

All

All the customs in civil life, were different from ours; the doublet and short cloak was the common dress in all courts. The gentlemen of the law every where wore a long and close robe, which fell half-way down their legs.

In the time of Francis I. there were but two coaches in the city of Paris; one for the queen, and the other for Diana of Poitiers. The men and women all rode on horseback.

Riches were now so much increased, that Henry VIII. of England, in 1519, promised three hundred and thirty three thousand gold crowns in dowry with his daughter Mary, who was to be married to the son of Francis I. This was a larger sum than had ever yet been given by any one.

The interview between Francis I. and Henry was a long time famous for its magnificence. Their camp was called the *camp of cloth of gold*; but this momentary parade, this stretch of luxury did not imply that general magnificence, nor those useful conveniencies which are so common in our times, and which so far exceed the pomp of a single day. The hand of industry had not then changed their sorry wooden dwellings into sumptuous palaces; the thatched roofs and the mud-walls still remained in the streets of Paris. The houses in London were still worse built, and the manner of living there harder. The greatest noblemen, when they went into the country, carried their wives behind them on horseback; princesses themselves travelled in no other manner, or covered with a riding-cloak of waxed cloth in rainy weather; and this dress they wore even when they went to the palace. This custom continued till the middle of the seventeenth century. The magnificence of Francis I. Charles V. Henry VIII. and Leo X. were only for days of public solemnity; whereas, at present, the shows and entertainments which we see in common every day, the number of gilt coaches, and the multitude of lamps which are lighted up during the night-time, in the streets of all our great cities, exhibit far greater riches and plenty, than the most brilliant ceremonies of the monarchs of the sixteenth century.

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In the reign of Lewis XII. they first began to substitute gold and silver stuffs, in room of the costly furs they were formerly wont to wear. These stuffs were the manufactures of Italy, there being none made at that time in Lyons. Gold work was in general very clumsy, Lewis XII. having by an ill-judged sumptuary law forbidden its use throughout his kingdom; so that the French were obliged to send to Venice for all their plate. By this means, the gold-smiths were all reduced to poverty; and Lewis XII. at length wisely revoked this law.

Francis I. who in the latter part of his life became an œconomist, prohibited the wearing of gold and silver stuffs, which prohibition was afterwards renewed by Henry II. but had these laws been strictly observed, they would have ruined the manufacture of Lyons. What chiefly determined the government to enact these laws was the consideration of being obliged to have all the silk from foreigners. In the reign of Henry II. none but bishops were permitted to wear silk. The princes and princesses had the distinguishing privilege of wearing dresses of red silk, or woollen stuff. At length, in the year 1563, none but princes and bishops were allowed to wear shoes made of silk.

All these sumptuary laws only shew that the views of the government were very narrow, and that the ministers thought it easier to put a check to industry than to encourage it.

Mulberry-trees were then cultivated only in Italy and Spain, and gold wire was made no where but at Milan and Venice; and yet the French fashions had already insinuated themselves into the courts of Germany, England, and Lombardy. The Italian historians complain, that after the journey which Charles VIII. made into Italy, the people affected to dress themselves after the French fashion, and sent to France for all their ornaments.

Pope Julius II. was the first who let his beard grow, in order to inspire the people with a greater respect to his person by a singularity of appearance. Francis I. Charles V. and all the other kings followed this example,

ple, which was immediately adopted by their courtiers; but those of the long robe, who always keep to the ancient customs, whatever they are, still continued to shave their beards, while the young military people affected an air of gravity and age. This is a trifling observation; but it claims a place in the history of customs.

But that which is more worthy the attention of posterity, and of far greater consideration than all the customs introduced by caprice, all the laws which time has abolished, or the disputes of crowned heads, which cease with themselves, is the reputation of the arts, which will never cease. This reputation was, during the sixteenth century, the lot of Italy alone. Nothing more strongly calls to our mind the idea of ancient Greece; for as the arts flourished in Greece in the midst of foreign and domestic wars, so they did likewise in Italy, and almost all of them were carried to an height of perfection at the time that Rome was sacked by the troops of Charles V. its coasts laid waste by the incursions of Barbarossa, and the heart of the country rent in pieces by the dissensions between the princes and the republics.

Italy had a Thucydides in Guicciardini, who wrote the wars of his time, as Thucydides did those of Peloponnesus; but none of its provinces produced any orators like Demosthenes, Pericles, and Æschines, the government not admitting of that kind of merit anywhere. The dramatic talent indeed, though far inferior to that which has since been found on the French stage, might be compared to that of Greece, which seemed revived here: and the *Mandragora* of Machiavel alone is perhaps worth all the comedies of Aristophanes. Machiavel was besides, an excellent historian, and a person of great parts, in which respect Aristophanes is by no means to be compared to him; and if, without being biassed by prejudice, we put Homer's *Odyssey*, and Ariosto's *Orlando* into the balance, the Italian will be found to carry the prize from both; though guilty of the same defect with them, that of an intemperate imagination, and a romantic credibility. Ariosto has compensated for this defect by such just allegories, such nice satire,

satire, so thorough a knowledge of the human heart, so many comic graces, which are continually succeeding to the strongest strokes of terror, and, in a word, by such innumerable beauties of every kind, that he has found the secret of forming a monster that we cannot but admire.

With regard to the *Iliad*, let every reader ask himself what he would think if he was to read for the first time this poem, and Tasso's *Jerusalem*, without knowing the name of the authors, or the time when those works were composed, and to judge only from the pleasure he felt. Could he do otherwise than give the preference to Tasso in all respects? Will he not find in the Italian more conduct, more interests, more variety, more justness, and a greater number of graces, with that delicacy which so enhances the sublime? In a few ages more, perhaps, they will be no longer placed in comparison.

It appears beyond contradiction, that painting was in the sixteenth century carried to a degree of perfection never known to the Greeks, who not only wanted that variety of colouring used by the Italians, but were also ignorant of the art of perspective and clare obscure*.

Sculpture, which is a more limited art, and easier to be attained, was that in which the Greeks principally excelled; and it is the glory of the Italians to have come nearest of all others to their models. They have surpassed them in architecture; and by the consent of all nations, nothing was ever comparable to the chief temple of modern Rome, which is the most beautiful, spacious, and noble edifice that ever appeared in the world.

MUSIC

* It favours rather too much of presumption, to affirm the antients were deficient in these respects; inasmuch as we know not the extent of their art: but that they were not ignorant of perspective, appears from some pieces of their painting, lately dug from the ruins of Herculaneum: and even if these had never seen the light, it would not have been difficult to disprove, from Pliny and other antient authors, the common opinions entertained about the imperfections of the Greek painters.

Musick was not thoroughly cultivated till after the sixteenth century; but we have the strongest reason to imagine, that it is far superior to that of the Greeks, as they have left no monument of this art by which we can gather that they sung in parts.

Ingraving upon copper-plate, which was invented at Florence in the fifteenth century, was an art entirely new, and at that time in its perfection. The Germans had the reputation of having invented printing, nearly about the time when engraving was known, by which single piece of service they encreased the knowledge of mankind. The English writers of the Universal History are mistaken in saying that Faustus was condemned by the parliament of Paris to be burnt for a magician. It is certain that some factors who came to Paris to sell the first books that were printed were accused of dealing in the black art, but this accusation had no consequences; and it is only a melancholy proof of the wretched ignorance in which men were then plunged, and which even this art of printing could not for a long time get the better of. The parliament in 1474 ordered all the books which had been brought to Paris by one of the factors from Mentz, to be seized; and Lewis XI. was obliged to forbid the parliament from meddling with the affair, and to pay the proprietors the price of their books.

It was not till the end of this glorious century that true philosophy began to beam upon mankind; Galileo was the first who made natural philosophy speak the language of truth and reason. Not long before Copernicus had, on the borders of Poland, discovered the true system of the world. Galileo was not only the first good natural philosopher, but he wrote at the same time with as much elegance as Plato; and had this inestimable advantage over the Greek philosopher, that he wrote only of true and intelligible matters. The manner in which this great man was treated by the inquisition, towards the latter part of his life, would reflect eternal infamy upon Italy, had not the stain been partly effaced by the reputation of Galileo himself. Seven inquisitors, by a decree made in the year 1616, declared

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the opinion of Copernicus, which had been so clearly and so beautifully explained by the Italian philosopher, "Not only heretical in point of faith, but absurd in philosophy." This condemnation of a truth, which has since been demonstrated in so many ways, is a strong proof of the force of prejudice, and ought to teach those, who have no other merit but their power, to be silent when true philosophy speaks, and not pretend to decide concerning what they do not understand. Galileo was afterwards condemned by the same tribunal to suffer imprisonment and do penance, and was obliged to retract his opinion upon his knees. His sentence was indeed more mild than that of Socrates, but it reflected as much disgrace on the reason of the judges of Rome, as the condemnation of Socrates did on the understandings of the judges of Athens. It has always been the fate of mankind, that truth should be persecuted at its first appearance. Philosophy, by being thus curbed, could not make so great a progress in the sixteenth century as the polite arts.

The religious disputes, which employed the minds of the people in Germany, in the North, and in France and England, checked the advancement of human reason, instead of furthering it. People who fought with blind fury could not find out the road to truth; and these disputes proved an additional malady in the human mind. The liberal arts continued to flourish in Italy, because the contagion of controversy had not found its way thither; and it happened, that while the people of France, Germany, and England, were cutting the throats of each other, for things which they did not understand, Italy, at rest from her troubles, after the sacking of Rome, by Charles V. cultivated the arts more than ever; and while religious wars spread ruin over other parts, at Rome, and in several other of the cities of Italy, architecture signalized itself by prodigies. Ten popes successively, and almost without interruption, contributed to the finishing the cathedral church of Saint Peter, and encouraged all the other arts. Nothing like this was seen in any other part of Europe. In a word, the reputation for genius belonged at this time

time to Italy alone, as it had formerly been the peculiar privilege of antient Greece.

C H A P. CI.

Of CHARLES V. and FRANCIS I. till the Election of CHARLES to the empire in 1519. Of the emperor MAXIMILIAN'S Project to get himself elected Pope. Of the Battle of MARIGNAN.

AT the time that Charles V. came to the possession of the imperial throne, the empire was no longer at the disposal of the popes, as it formerly had been, and the emperors had relinquished their claims upon Rome. These reciprocal pretensions resembled the empty titles of king of France, which the English monarchs still continue to assume, and of king of Navarre, which is still retained by the king of France.

The parties of the Guelphs and Gibellines were almost entirely forgotten. Maximilian had acquired only a few towns in Italy, which he had taken from the Venetians in consequence of his success in the league of Cambray; but he fell upon a new method of bringing both Rome and Italy under the dominion of the emperors; which was, to get himself elected pope after the death of Julius II. as he was become a widower by the death of his wife, who was daughter to Galeas Maria Sforza, duke of Milan. There are still

1512 to be seen two letters, written with his own hand; one to his daughter Margaret, gover-
nante of the Low Countries, and the other to the lord of Chievres, fully displaying this intention.

Who can tell what might have happened, if the imperial and pontifical crowns had been both placed on one head? † The system of Europe would have under-
gone

† Had Maximilian been elected pope, he would have resigned the imperial crown to his grandson Charles, as we learn from his own

one great changes, as it did, though in a different manner, under Charles V.

Immediately

own letter to his daughter Margaret, duchess dowager of Savoy, and governante of the Low Countries. As the letter is curious and characteristic, we shall endeavour to translate it for the reader's amusement, from the barbarous French in which it is written.

"Most dear, and most beloved daughter, I have received the advice you sent me by Guillain Pingun, our wardrobe-keeper; an advice on which we have still more maturely deliberated, and we find no good reason why we should marry downright; but we have carried our deliberation, and will still further, being resolved never more to cohabit with a naked woman.

"And we to-morrow send bishop Gurck to Rome, to the pope, that some means may be found to agree with him, that he shall make us as his coadjutor, in order, that, after his death, we may be assured of the papacy, and become a priest, and after be a saint; and after my death you will of necessity be constrained to pay me adoration, of which I shall be very proud.

"On this subject I sent a messenger to the king of Arragon, to desire he would help me to accomplish this aim; which he is content to do, on condition that I resign the empire to our common grandchild Charles, with which I am content also.

"The people and nobility of Rome have made an alliance against the French and Spaniards, and are twenty thousand fighting men; and they have assured me they will be for us, in order to make me a pope, on account of my station, and as being of the empire of Germany, and they will have neither Frenchman nor Arragonese, nor even a Venetian.

"I likewise begin to canvass among the cardinals, with whom two or three hundred thousand ducats would do me great service, considering the partiality which is already betwixt us.

"The king of Arragon has given his ambassador to understand, that he will lay his commands upon the Spanish cardinals, to facilitate our election to the papacy.

"I beg you will keep this affair a little while secret; though in a few days I am afraid every body will know of it; for it is hardly possible to transact such a great affair with secrecy, in which so many people are concerned, and so much money, interest, and canvassing required. Adieu. Given under the hand of your good father, Maximilianus, future pope; the 18th day of September.

"The pope has still his double tertian, and cannot live much longer.

"To my good daughter, the archduchess of Austria, dowager of Savoy, &c. to be delivered into her own hands."

In order to bribe the cardinals, Maximilian had negotiated a loan from the famous rich merchants of Augsbug, called the Fuggers, or rather Fouckars, to whom he was to have pawned the imperial ornaments, and made over one third of the papal revenues, until they should have been reimbursed.

Immediately upon the death of Maximilian, 1518 when the affair of indulgences, and Luther's schism, began to divide Germany, Francis I. king of France, and Charles of Austria, king of Spain, of the two Sicilies, and Navarre, and sovereign of the seventeen provinces of the Low Country, openly canvassed for the empire, at the time when Germany, threatened with an invasion from the Turk, stood in need of such a chief as Francis, or Charles of Austria. The imperial crown had never before been disputed by such potent princes. Francis I. who was elder than his competitor by five years, seemed the most deserving of it, by the great actions which he had lately performed.

Immediately after his accession to the crown of France, in 1515, the republic of Genoa had, through the cabals of its own citizens, put itself again under the French dominion; upon which Francis hastened into Italy, as his predecessors had done.

The first thing to be done was to conquer Milan, which had been lost by Lewis XII. and wrest it again from the unfortunate family of the Sforzas. In this enterprize he was joined by the Venetians, who wanted to recover Verona, which had been taken from them by Maximilian; and he had against him pope Leo X. an active and intriguing man, and the emperor Maximilian, now worn out with age, and incapable of doing any thing: but his most dangerous opponents were the Swifs, who were always at enmity with France, since their disputes with Lewis XII. and continually spirited up by Matthew Schâner, cardinal of Sion, and who at that time took the title of defenders of the pontiffs, and protectors of the Italian princes; titles which had for above ten years been more than imaginary.

The king, while he was marching towards Milan, continued to amuse them with negociations; and the cardinal of Sion, on his side, who had taught his nation the arts of dissimulation and deceit, amused the king with vain promises, till the Swifs, having certain advice of the arrival of the military chest, thought they might

* See the preceding chapter.

at one stroke make themselves masters of the treasure and the king's person, and deliver Italy from its fears.

Accordingly five and twenty thousand Swiss, wearing St. Peter's key as a badge on 1515 their shoulders and breasts, and armed, part of them with the long spears already mentioned, and part with the large two-handled swords, fell suddenly, with a great cry, upon the king's camp at Marignan. This was the most obstinate and bloody battle that had ever been fought in Italy. The French and Swiss, confounded with each other amidst the darkness of the night, waited for day-light to renew the combat. We know that the king slept upon the breech of a cannon, within fifty paces of one of the enemy's battalions. In this battle the Swiss always attacked, and the French stood upon the defensive; which is in my opinion a sufficient proof, that the French may, on some occasions, be possessed of that passive courage which is sometimes as necessary as the impetuous ardour by which they are generally distinguished *. It was particularly noble to see a young prince, of only one and twenty years of age, preserve a cool and steady conduct during so sharp and long an engagement. As the battle lasted so long, it was hardly possible for the Swiss to gain the victory, because the black bands of Germany, who were then with the king, formed an infantry as firm as their own, and they had no horsemen. It is even surprising that they were able, for two days together, to stand against the attacks of those large war-horses, which were continually falling upon their broken battalions. The old marshal de Trivulca called this battle the fight of the giants. It was generally agreed, that the honour of this victory was chiefly owing to the famous constable Charles of Bourbon, who was afterwards so ill rewarded, and carried his revenge to such extremities. The Swiss at length gave way, but with-

VOL. III.

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* If our author intended to adduce this battle as a proof of that passive or patient courage in the French, he ought to have omitted that following sentence, in which he freely owns that the infantry of the French king consisted of the black bands of Germany.

out suffering a total defeat, and fled, leaving upwards of ten thousand of their countrymen on the field of battle, and abandoned the Milanese to the
 1515 conquerors. Maximilian Sforza was carried prisoner into France, as Lewis the Moor had been, but on more gentle terms; for he became a subject, whereas Lewis was a captive; and this sovereign of the finest country in Italy, was suffered to live in France on a moderate pension.

Francis, after this victory of Marignan, and the conquest of the Milanese, entered into an alliance with pope Leo X. and even with the Swiss nation, who at length chose rather to furnish the French with troops, than to fight against them. He obliged the emperor Maximilian, by dint of arms, to restore Verona to the Venetians, which they have ever since continued to possess. He procured the duchy of Urbino for Leo X. which still belongs to the church: in short, he was at that time looked upon as master of Italy, and the greatest prince in Europe, and as a person the most worthy of the empire, which he stood for after the death of Maximilian. Fame had not as yet sounded the name of young Charles of Austria, which was one reason that determined the electors to give him the preference. They were apprehensive of being held too much in subjection by the king of France; whereas they did not so much fear the power of a master, whose dominions, though very extensive, lay at a considerable distance from each other. Charles then was elected

1519 emperor, notwithstanding that Francis I. had laid out four hundred thousand crowns in purchasing the suffrages.

C H A P. CII.

Of CHARLES V. and FRANCIS I. till the Battle of
PAVIA.

EVERY one knows the great rivalship which from this time arose between these two princes; and, indeed, how could they be otherwise than continually at war with each other? Charles, as sovereign of the Low Countries, had a claim upon Artois and several other towns; and as king of Naples and Sicily, beheld Francis I. ready to claim those dominions on the same title as Lewis XII. As king of Spain he had Navarre to defend, which he had usurped; and lastly, in quality of emperor, he could not but defend the great chief of Milan against the pretensions of the house of France. How many reasons were here for laying Europe waste!

Pope Leo X. at first endeavoured to hold the balance between these two powerful rivals. But how could he do it? Whom was he to chuse for vassal, and king of the Two Sicilies, Charles or Francis? What would become of the ancient law made by the pontiffs in the thirteenth century, "That no king of Naples could ever be emperor?" Leo was not sufficiently powerful to enforce the execution of this law, which, however respected it might be at Rome, was not so in the empire. The pope then was very soon obliged to grant Charles V. that dispensation which he thought proper to ask, and to receive a vassal who made him tremble; but no sooner had he granted it, than he heartily repented of what he had done.

That balance which Leo was for holding, was actually in the hands of Henry VIII. Accordingly the emperor and the king of France courted his friendship, and both of them endeavoured to gain over his prime minister and favourite, cardinal Wolsey.

Francis I. began by settling that famous interview with the king of England, near Calais. 1520

After this, Charles left Spain to pay a visit to Henry at Canterbury, and Henry conducted him at his return as far as Calais and Gravelines *.

It was natural for the king of England to side with the emperor, as, by joining with him, he had a prospect of getting back those provinces in France, which had formerly been the patrimony of his ancestors; whereas, by entering into an alliance with Francis, he could gain nothing in Germany, where he had no pretensions.

While he was thus spinning out time, Francis began this never-ending quarrel by seizing upon Navarre. And here, though I should never think of quitting sight of the sketch of Europe, for the sake of hunting after authorities to refute the assertions of some historians; yet I cannot forbear observing how much Puffendorff is sometimes mistaken. He says, that this attempt upon Navarre was made in the year 1516, immediately after the death of Ferdinand the Catholic, by John d'Albert, who had been driven from that kingdom, and adds, that Charles had always before his eyes his *plus ultra*, and was every day forming great designs. Now, here are a number of mistakes. In 1516 Charles was only fifteen years of age, and had not then assumed his device of *plus ultra*: lastly, it was not John d'Albert who invaded Navarre in 1516, after the death of Ferdinand, for John died himself in that very year: it was Francis I. then who made the transient conquest of this kingdom in the name of Henry d'Albert, not in 1516, but in 1521.

Neither Charles VIII. Lewis XII. nor Francis I. kept the conquests they made. Navarre was hardly subdued, when it was taken again by the Spaniards; and from that time the French were obliged to be continually fighting against the Spanish troops in all the extremities of the kingdom, on the borders of Fontarabia,

* Henry parted from the emperor at Canterbury, and that same day embarked at Dover for Calais, in order to meet the king of France; but by that time, Wolsey is said to have been brought over to the interests of the emperor; indeed Henry, after his interview with Francis, returned the emperor's visit at Gravelines.

rabia, Flanders, and Italy; and affairs remained in this situation till the beginning of our present century.

At the same time that Charles's Spanish troops were conquering Navarre, his German troops penetrated into Picardy, and his emissaries were raising the Italians in his favour. 1521

Pope Leo, who was always fluctuating between Francis I. and Charles V. was at this time in the emperor's interest. He had had reason to complain of the French, for having endeavoured to take Reggio from him as a part of the territories of Milan, and they had made their new neighbours their enemies by several unreasonable acts of violence. Lautrec, governor of Milan, had caused the lord of Pallavicini to be quartered, on suspicion of having attempted to raise an insurrection in the Milanese, and had given his forfeited estates to his own brother, de Foix. This caused an universal discontent, which the French administration took no care to appease, either by prudent laws, or sending over a necessary sum of money.

It availed them nothing that they had a number of Swiss in their pay; the imperial army had the same; and the famous cardinal of Sion, who was always so fatal to the kings of France, having found means to send those who were in the French army home to their own country, Lautrec, the governor of Milan, was soon driven from his capital, and afterwards quite out of the country. At this time died Leo X. 1521
just as his temporal monarchy was becoming strong, and the spiritual one falling to decay.

The power of Charles V. and the wisdom of his council, now appeared in their full lustre. He had sufficient interest to get his preceptor Adrian elected pope, though a native of Utrecht, and in a manner unknown at Rome. His council likewise, which was far superior to that of Francis I. in abilities, artfully stirred up Henry VIII. against France, who hoped at least to be able to dismember that country, of which his ancestors had formerly been in possession. Charles made a voyage to England in person, to forward the armament, and hasten its departure; soon afterwards he

likewise contrived to detach the Venetians from their alliance with France, and bring them over to his interest; and, to complete the whole, a faction which he maintained in Genoa, assisted by his troops, drove out the French, and elected a new doge, who put himself under the emperor's protection. Thus, by his superior power and skill, did he hem in and press the French monarchy on all sides.

Under these circumstances Francis I. who lavished great sums on his pleasures, and kept but little money for his necessary affairs, was obliged to take a large grate of massy silver, with which Lewis XI. had surrounded the tomb of St. Martin at Tours, and which weighed near seven thousand marks. The money was certainly of more use to the state than to St. Martin, but a shift of this kind was a mark of pressing necessity. Some years before he had sold twenty new counsellors places in the parliament of Paris. This setting up of justice to auction, and carrying off the ornaments of the tombs, plainly shewed a great disorder in the finances. He now saw himself alone against all Europe; and yet so far was he from being discouraged, that he made resistance in every part, and provided so effectually for the security of the frontiers of Picardy, that the English could never force an entrance into France, though they had Calais, the key of the kingdom, in their hands*. He kept matters upon an equal footing in Flanders, and suffered no encroachment on the side of Spain: in short, though he had no longer any place left in Italy, but the castle of Cremona, this resolute monarch resolved to

* The duke of Suffolk, with a small number of English forces, being joined by a body of Imperialists, under the count de Bure, took Bray by assault, passed the river Soame, reduced Roye and Montdidier, and advanced within eleven leagues of Paris. Had Henry been heartily engaged, and the emperor acted with vigour, perhaps all France might have been conquered: but the allied generals quarrelled, and parted; the emperor had disoblinded Wolsey, in promoting Adrian, and afterwards Julian de Medicis, to the papacy, and the cardinal threw cold water on the expedition. Besides, Henry himself began to open his eyes, and dread the great power of Charles, which it was certainly his interest to circumscribe.

to go in person and reduce the Milanese, that fatal object of ambition with the kings of France.

But neither St. Martin's grate, nor the sale of twenty new counsellors places, were sufficient to answer so many different calls, and to provide for an attempt upon the Milanese, attacked as he was on all sides. The royal demesnes were therefore now for the first time alienated, and an augmentation made in the taxes of all kinds. This was one great advantage which the kings of France had over their neighbours: Charles V. could not carry his absolute authority to this length in his dominions; but this fatal power of ruining themselves was the source of numberless evils to France.

Among other causes of the misfortunes which befel Francis I. we may reckon his injustice to the constable of Bourbon, to whom he was indebted for the victory of Marignan. It was not thought sufficient to mortify him on all occasions, but Louisa of Savoy, dutchess of Angouleme, the king's mother, being desirous of marrying the constable, who was lately become a widower, and having been refused by him, resolved to ruin the man she could not wed; and preferred a suit against him, which was deemed highly unjust by all the lawyers of those times, and which no other but a powerful queen-mother could have gained.

This suit was for no less than all the possessions of the family of Bourbon. The judges suffered themselves to be prevailed on by the queen's solicitations, and, by a sentence of sequestration, stripped the constable at once of all his estates, who thereupon sent his friend, the bishop of Autun, to request the king at least to put a stop to the proceedings; but the king would not even see the bishop. Upon this the constable, who had already been strongly solicited by Charles V. to enter into his service, now, in a fit of despair and anger, accepted the offer. It would have been truly heroic in him to have continued to do his duty to his country, though ill treated; but there is another kind of heroism, that of revenge; unfortunately Charles of Bourbon made choice of the latter, quitted France, and entered

into the emperor's service. Few men ever tasted the fatal pleasure of revenge more fully than himself.

The constable was immediately made generalissimo of the armies of the empire, and repaired to Milan, which had been entered by the French under admiral Bonnivet, his greatest enemy. A general who knew the strength and weakness of all the troops of France could not but have a great advantage; but Charles had a still greater: almost all the Italian princes were in his interest; the people hated the French government; and lastly, he had the best generals in Europe in his service; such as the Marquis de Pescara, Lannoy, and John de Medicis, names famous even in these times.

Admiral Bonnivet could by no means stand in competition with these generals; and had he even been superior to them in abilities, he was far inferior in the number and quality of his troops, which besides were very ill paid: he was therefore quickly compelled to fly, and was attacked in his retreat at Biagrasse. The famous chevalier Bayard *, who though he never commanded

* Pierre du Terrail, chevalier de Bayard, was a real knight-errant, and deemed the flower of chivalry, descended from an ancient and honourable family in Dauphine. His great grandfather's father fell at the feet of king John in the battle of Poitiers: his great grandfather was slain at the battle of Agincourt: his grandfather lost his life in the battle of Montlehery; and his father was desperately wounded in the battle of Guinegaste, commonly called the Battle of the Spurs. The chevalier himself had signalized himself from his youth by incredible acts of personal valour; first of all, at the battle of Fornova: in the reign of Lewis XII. he, with his single arm, defended the bridge at Naples against two hundred knights: in the reign of Francis I. he fought so valiantly at the battle of Marignan, under the eye of his sovereign, that, after the action, Francis insisted upon being knighted by his hand, after the manner of chivalry. Having given his king the slap on the shoulder, and dubbed him knight, he addressed himself to his sword in these terms: "How happy art thou, in having this day conferred the order of knighthood on such a virtuous and powerful monarch. Certes, my good sword, thou shalt henceforth be kept as a relique, and honoured above all others, and never will I wear thee except against the infidels." So saying, he cut a caper twice, and then sheathed his sword. He behaved with such extraordinary courage and conduct on a great number of delicate occasions, that he

manded in chief, yet was truly deserving the surname of "The Knight without Fear or Reproach," was mortally wounded in this engagement, in which the French were put to the rout. Almost every reader knows, that when Charles of Bourbon, on seeing him, in this condition, expressed his concern for him, the dying Bayard made him this reply; "It is not I who am to be pitied, but yourself, who fight against your king and country."

This prince's desertion had nearly proved the ruin of the kingdom. He had certain litigious claims upon Provence, which he might secure to himself by the force of arms, in the room of the real rights of which he had been bereft by the sentence of the court. Charles V. had promised him the ancient kingdom of Arles, of which Provence would be the chief part. King Henry VIII. gave him one hundred thousand crowns per month, for the expences of this year's war. He had lately taken Toulon, and was now besieging Marseilles. Francis I. had doubt- 1524
less great reason to repent of what he had done; but affairs were not as yet desperate; he had still a flourishing army on foot, with which he had hastened to the relief of Marseilles, and having driven the enemy out of Provence, he fell again upon the duchy of Milan. The constable then returned back to Germany, to raise fresh troops; and for some time during this interval Francis I. thought himself master of Italy.

H 5

CHAP.

he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general, and held in universal esteem. It was at the retreat of Rebec, that his back was broke with a musket shot. Perceiving himself mortally wounded, he exclaimed, "Jesus, my God, I am a dead man." Then he kissed the cross of his sword, repeated some prayers aloud, caused himself to be laid under a tree, with a stone supporting his head, and his face towards the enemy, observing that he would not in the last scene of his life, begin to turn his back on the enemy. He sent a dutiful message to the king, by the lord of Alegre; and having made a military will by word of mouth, was visited and caressed by the constable of Bourbon and the marquis de Pescara. He died upon the spot, in the forty-eighth year of his age.

C H A P. CIII.

FRANCIS I. taken prisoner. The taking of ROME. SOLYMAN repulsed. Principalities conferred. Enquiry whether CHARLES V. aimed at universal Monarchy. SOLYMAN proclaimed king of PERSIA in BABYLON.

WE now come to one of the most striking examples of those turns of fortune, which are in fact no other than the necessary concatenation of all events in the world. While Charles V. on the one side, was employed in Spain in regulating the ranks of his subjects, and forming the etiquette; on the other, Francis I. already become famous throughout Europe by his victory at Marignan, and as courageous as the chevalier Bayard, accompanied by his heroic nobles, and at the head of a fine army, was in the midst of Milan. Pope Clement VII. who, not without good reason stood in fear of the emperor, openly declared for the king of France; and John de Medicis, one of the greatest generals of that age, fought for him at the head of a chosen body of veteran troops, and yet he was defeated at Pavia; and notwithstanding he performed acts of valour which were alone sufficient to immortalize his name, was made a prisoner, together with the chief nobles of his king. To add to his misfortune, he was taken by the only French officer who had followed the duke of Bourbon; and this very man whom he had condemned at Paris, was now become master of his life *. This gentleman, whose

* Francis in person, at the head of two thousand men at arms charged with such impetuosity, that Pescara was unhorsed and dangerously wounded, and the whole body he commanded must have been ruined, had not he been succoured by the duke de Bourbon, who had already made a terrible carnage, and now fell upon the French men at arms with irresistible fury. All that the great officers now surviving could do, was to assemble and defend the person.

whose name was Pomperan, had at once the honour of preserving him from death, and making him his prisoner. It is certain that the duke of Bourbon, one of his victors, came that very day to pay him a visit, and to enjoy his triumph over a fallen enemy. But this interview was not the only misfortune which Francis had to encounter on that fatal day. Never was letter more true than that which

person of their sovereign, who fought like a knight errant, sword in hand. La Pelisse, la Tremouille, Galeás de Sanseverino, and Bonnivert, fell by his side, and he was surrounded by the imperial cavalry; the officers of which perceiving by his armour, that he was some person of great rank, resolved to take him alive, and for that purpose slew his horse. In his fall he received a wound in the leg, notwithstanding which he started up, and still fought on foot with surprising prowess. Pomperant, who had accompanied the duke of Bourbon in his revolt, chancing to come up, and seeing the king in such a dangerous situation, drew his sword, and joining Francis, helped to keep off the soldiers who pressed upon him in order to take him alive; at the same time he desired that the duke of Bourbon might be called to receive the king as a prisoner. Francis, transported with rage, declared he would rather die than deliver his sword to a traitor; then turning to Pomperant, "Send for Lannoy, viceroy of Naples, (said he) to him I will surrender." That officer accordingly approaching, the king said to him in the Italian language, "Mr. de Lannoy, there is the sword of a king who deserves some commendation, seeing before he parts with it he has made use of it in shedding the blood of many of your army, and who is not a prisoner through cowardice, but the accidents of fortune." Lannoy received the sword upon his knees, and respectfully kissed his hand; then presented the king with his own sword, saying, "I beg your majesty will be so good as to receive mine, which hath this day spared the lives of many Frenchmen: it does not become the emperor's officer to leave a king disarmed, even though a prisoner." He was immediately conveyed to the viceroy's tent, where his wounds were dressed, and he was treated with all possible respect. Lannoy is said to have begged his majesty would see the duke of Bourbon, who at his request was admitted, and kneeling kissed his hand: for some historians assert, that he positively refused to see the traitor. He ought not to have provoked the duke's resentment by acts of tyranny and injustice, which by the law of nature cancel the obligation of allegiance, for the duties of allegiance and protection are reciprocal. Next day Francis was conducted to the strong fortrefs of Pizighitone, where he remained for some time under the guard of Alrazon the Spanish governor of the place, who preserved towards him all the punctilios of decorum.

which this prince wrote to the queen, his mother, after the battle : " Madam, all is lost, our honour excepted." Every thing seemed to foretel his inevitable ruin. His frontiers were unguarded, his treasury exhausted, a general consternation prevailed throughout all orders of the state, and violent dissensions in the council of the queen, who was regent during his absence. Lastly, the king of England threatened France with an invasion, and to revive the fatal times of Edward III. and Henry V.

Charles V. without having as yet unsheathed his sword, kept a king and a hero prisoner in his capitol of Madrid : and here Charles for once seems to have neglected his good fortune ; for, instead of entering France in person, to take advantage of the victory his generals had gained in Italy, he remained idle in Spain ; and in room of seizing Milan for himself, he thought it necessary to bestow the investiture of that duchy on Francis Sforza, that he might not give umbrage to the rest of Italy. Henry VIII. likewise, instead of joining with Charles to dismember France, became jealous of his rising greatness, and entered into a treaty with the queen regent. In a word, the captivity of Francis I. which to all appearance should have occasioned such great revolutions, produced only a ransom, mutual reproaches, the lye given, and idle challenges *, which threw a kind of ridicule on these

* In the year 1528, the kings of France and England having declared war against the emperor, by the mouths of two heralds admitted to a public audience, Charles in his reply declared, that Francis had broke his word, and charged the French herald to remind his master of the proposal which he (the emperor) had made two years before, namely, that their difference should be determined by single combat. Francis no sooner received this message, than he sent a written challenge to the emperor by an herald, who recited it aloud to him, and in public, at Valladolid. Charles not only accepted it without hesitation, but immediately dispatched a herald, called Bourgogne, to Paris with a written paper, proposing that the duel should be fought in a little island of the river that runs by Fontarabia. Bourgogne with much difficulty obtained an audience of Francis, seated on his throne, in the midst of his princes and nobility : but before he opened his lips, the French king told him he had nothing to do but give security for the field of battle. The herald assured him that he would ; but desired permission to say what he

had

these terrible events, and seemed to degrade the two chiefs personages in Christendom.

It is true, that by the unhappy treaty of Madrid, the captive king gave up Burgundy; but he soon afterwards was sufficiently powerful to refuse complying with this article of the treaty. He lost the lordships of Flanders and Artois; but that was only losing an empty homage. His two sons remained prisoners in his room, as hostages for his performance of the treaty; but he purchased their liberty afterwards for a sum money: indeed their ransom cost two millions of gold crowns, which greatly distressed the kingdom at that time; and if we consider what it cost France to ransom Francis I. king John, and St. Lewis, and how much money was wasted by the duke of Anjou, brother to Charles, and the French king, and the sums expended in the wars against the English, we shall find it a subject of astonishment that Francis should find so many resources afterwards. These, however, were owing to the successive acquisitions of Dauphiny, Provence,

had in charge from the emperor. The king declared he would hear nothing but the assignment and security of the place, and retired to another apartment, whither he was followed by Bourgogne, who observed, that if he would not hear him, he could not pretend to deliver the cartel, nor specify the place. He said he had a writing which would inform his majesty; but for his part he could not separate what might appear superfluous from what was necessary; and he demanded, that he should either have the same permission which was granted to the French heralds in Spain, or receive an authentic act of these transactions, for his own justification. This last was granted, together with a safe-conduct for his return: but still he continued to solicit an audience, protesting that the paper described the place of combat; that the king was bound in honour either to receive it with his own hand, or allow it to be published; and that it would be his fault, if the duel was not actually fought. In a word, such was the perseverance and industry of this officious messenger, that he would not leave the kingdom until he was threatened to be hanged, and even a gibbet erected for that purpose. Such is the account which Antonio de Vera gives of this transaction; from which it would appear that Francis I. notwithstanding his boasted heroism, and the advantages of person he had over Charles, was not at all inclined to this method of determination.

vence, and Brittany, and the annexing of the duchy of Burgundy to the crown, and to the flourishing condition of the French trade, which helped in some measure to repair the misfortunes of the war, and the kingdom enabled to bear up against the great successes of Charles V.*

Fortune, which had thrown a king into his power, made him the next year master of the person of pope Clement VII. without his having had the least share in bringing it about, or indeed without his having so much as thought of it. The apprehension of his power had united against him the pope, the king of England, and the one half of Italy. The same duke of Burgundy who had been so fatal an enemy to Francis I. proved the same to Clement VII. He commanded on the frontiers of Milan, with an army composed of Spaniards, Italians, and Germans. This army had been victorious, but was very badly paid, and in want of every thing: he therefore proposed to his officers and men, to march to Rome and plunder that city by way of payment; a plan of the self same kind, with that of the Goths and Heruli of old. The soldiers gladly embraced the offer, and instantly began their march, notwithstanding a truce had been lately signed between the pope and the viceroy of Naples. They arrive before Rome, they

1527 scale the walls of the city, and the duke of Bourbon is slain in mounting one of the lad-

ders. Rome, however, is taken, given up to plunder, and sacked; and the pope, who had retreated for safety to the castle of St. Angelo, is taken prisoner there.

The

* It was not owing to any internal resources of commerce that France owed her safety at this period; but, as our author afterwards observes, to the embarrassments that hindered the emperor from improving his good fortune. The troubles of Germany excited by the progress of Lutheranism; the irruption of the Turks in Hungary; the dissensions of Italy; the intrigues of the Venetians; and the caprice of Henry VIII. king of England, who shifted occasionally from one side to the other, and kept both in alarm.

The taking of Rome, and making the pope prisoner, did not, however, render Charles any more the absolute master of Italy, than the taking of Francis I. had procured him an entry into France. The scheme of universal monarchy then, which is generally attributed to this emperor, is as false and chimerical as that afterwards imputed to Lewis XIV. For so far was Charles from keeping Rome, or subduing all Italy, that he gave the pope his liberty for four hundred thousand gold crowns, (of which, however, he only received one hundred thousand) as he had before released the children of France for two millions of crowns. 1528

It may appear surprising, that an emperor, who was master of Spain, of the seventeen provinces of the Low Countries, of Naples and Sicily, and lord paramount of Lombardy, and already in possession of Mexico, and whose subjects were then making the conquest of Peru for him, should have made so little advantage of his good fortune. But the first sums which had been sent him from Mexico, were swallowed up by the sea; and he received no settled tribute from America, as his successor Philip II. afterwards did. The troubles occasioned in Germany by Lutheranism perplexed him on one side, and on the other he was alarmed by the progress of the Turks in Hungary. He was obliged at the same time to resist the attacks of sultan Solyman and Francis I. to keep the German princes in subjection, to manage the Italians, and the Venetians; and to fix that wavering prince, Henry VIII. So that though he still continued to fill the first place on the theatre of Europe, he was very far from approaching to universal monarchy.

His generals likewise found it very difficult to drive the French out of Italy, who had penetrated in 1528, as far as the kingdom of Naples. The system of a balance of power was then established in Europe: for immediately after the taking of Francis I. the English and the powers of Italy entered into a league with France to counter-balance the emperor's power. They did the same upon the pope's being taken.

A peace

A peace was now concluded at Cambray, 1529 upon the plan of the treaty of Madrid, by which Francis had been set at liberty. It was at the signing of this peace, that Charles gave up the children of France, and desisted from his pretensions upon Burgundy, for the consideration of two millions of crowns.

Charles now left Spain to go to Rome, and receive the imperial crown from the hands of the pope, and to kiss the feet of him whom he had so lately detained captive. He disposed of all Lombardy indeed as absolute master; for he invested Francis Sforza in the duchy of Milan, and Alexander de Medicis in that of Tuscany: he named a duke

of Mantua, and obliged the pope to restore 1530 Modena and Reggio to the duke of Ferrara; but all this he did for a pecuniary consideration, and without reserving to himself any other right than that of lord paramount.

So many princes at his feet gave him that external air of grandeur which is so apt to deceive; but he was truly great in marching to drive Solymán out of Hungary, at the head of a hundred thousand men, assisted by his brother Ferdinand, and all the protestant princes of Germany, who signalized themselves for the defence of Europe. This was the first beginning of his active life and personal glory. We now find him at once fighting against the Turks, preventing the French from passing the Alps, appointing a council, and returning

1535 again into Spain, in order to carry the war into Africa, landing before Tunis, gaining a victory over the usurper of that kingdom, appointing a king of Tunis, tributary to Spain, and delivering eighteen thousand Christians from captivity, whom he brings home in triumph to Europe, and who, succoured by his bounty, return each to his native country, and exalt the name of Charles V. to the skies. All the princes of Christendom now seemed little in comparison with him, and all other glory seemed lost in the superior lustre of his fame.

His

His good fortune also ordered it so, that Solyman, who was a more formidable enemy than Francis I. was at that time employed in a war against the Persians. He had already taken Tauris, from whence directing his march towards antient Assyria, 1534 he made himself master of Mesopotamia, now called Diarbeck, and of Curdistan, which is the antient Sufiana, and entered the city of Bagdat, the new Babylon, in triumph. After this, he caused himself to be inaugurated king of Persia, by the caliph of Bagdat. The caliphs had for a long time been divested of every thing in Persia, excepting the honour of giving the turban to the sultans, and girding the scymetar to the side of the strongest power. Mahmoud, Jengis, Tamerlane, and Sophi Ismael, had accustomed the Persians to change masters. Solyman, after having taken the one half of Persia from Thamas, the son of Ismael, returned victorious to Constantinople. After his departure his general's lost a part of their master's conquests in Persia. Thus were things kept in balance; kingdom fell upon kingdom; the Persians attacked the Turks; the Turks Germany and Italy; and Germany and Spain fell upon France; and had there been any other nations further westward, these would have become so many new enemies to Spain and France.

Europe had experienced no violent shocks since the fall of the Roman empire; and no emperor since Charlemagne had ever shone with such glory as Charles V. The one holds the first rank within the memory of man as a conqueror, and the founder of states; the other, with as much power, had the most difficult character to support. Charlemagne, with the numerous armies trained by Pepin and Charles Martel, made an easy conquest of the enervated Lombards and the wild Saxons. Charles V. had always the kingdom of France, the Turkish empire, and the half of Germany to guard against.

England, which in the eighth century was separated from the rest of the world, became in the sixteenth a powerful kingdom, which it was always necessary to keep well with. But what renders the situation of
Charles

Charles V. greatly superior to that of Charlemagne is, that having almost the same extent of country in Europe under his dominion, this country was always better peopled, in a more flourishing state, and abounded more in great men of every kind. There was not one great trading city at the first revival of the empire under Charlemagne: nor were any names but those of the most powerful handed down to posterity. The single province of Flanders was of more value in the sixteenth century than the whole empire in the ninth: and Italy in the time of pope Paul III. is to Italy in the time of Adrian I. and Leo III. what the modern architecture is to the Gothic. I shall take no notice here of the liberal arts, for which this century might have vied with the Augustan age, nor of the happiness of Charles V. who could reckon so many great geniuses among his subjects; this work being dedicated only to public affairs and the general sketch of the world.

C H A P. CIV.

The Conduct of FRANCIS I. His Interview with CHARLES V. Their Disputes and Wars. Alliance between the king of FRANCE and sultan SOLYMAN. Death of FRANCIS I.

THE conduct of Francis I. who, on seeing his rival thus disposing of kingdoms, endeavoured once more to get possession of Milan, which he had solemnly renounced by two treaties, and for this purpose called in the assistance of Solyman and his Turks, whom Charles V. had driven out of Europe, might be agreeable to good politics; but it stood in need of great success to render it glorious.

This prince might have quitted his pretensions to Milan, the inexhaustible source of war, and the burying-place of so many of his nation, as Charles had relinquished his rights to Burgundy, which were founded on the treaty

treaty of Madrid : he would then have enjoyed a happy peace, would have adorned, well governed, and improved his kingdom, much more than he did in the latter part of his life ; and might have given full scope to those virtues he really possessed. He was great in that he was an encourager of the arts ; but the unhappy desire he had to be duke of Milan, and vassal of the empire, whether the emperor would or not, proved very prejudicial to his glory. Being reduced to seek the assistance of Barbarossa, he was severely reproached by that corsair for not having properly seconded him, and was afterwards openly called a renegado, and a perjured wretch ; in a full assembly of the imperial diet.

How fatal a contrast was it to cause a number of poor Lutherans, among whom were several Germans, to be burnt in a slow fire, at Paris, and at the same time to enter into an alliance with the Lutheran princes of Germany, to whom he was obliged to excuse himself for this cruelty, and even to affirm that there were no Germans among those who had suffered. How can historians have the meanness to approve of these punishments, and to call them the effects of the pious zeal of a prince, given up to his passions and pleasures, and void even of the shadow of that piety they pretend to attribute to him ! If this was a religious act, it was cruelly falsified by the prodigious number of catholic captives whom his treaty with Solyman gave up to the chains of Barbarossa, on the coasts of Italy *. If it was an act of policy, we may by the same rule approve of the persecutions of the Pagans, in which so many Christians were sacrificed. Charles V. put no Lutheran to death ; and he set at liberty eighteen thousand captives, instead of delivering them up to the Turks.

In the fatal expedition of Milan, it was necessary to pass through Piedmont ; but the duke of Savoy refused the

* In consequence of the French king's alliance with the Turks, the famous Barbarossa of Algiers made a descent on the kingdom of Naples, reduced Castro and Brindisi, ravaged the country with fire and sword, and made slaves of the inhabitants.

the king a passage : upon which he attacked that prince at the time the emperor was returning victorious from Tunis. Another cause for wasting Savoy by fire and sword, was, that the mother of Francis I. was of that family, and some pretensions upon certain parts of that state had long been a subject of discord. The wars of Milan in like manner arose from the marriage of Lewis XII. There is hardly any hereditary state in Europe which has not suffered by war on account of marriage. By this means the public law has become the greatest scourge of the people, as almost all the clauses in contracts and treaties have only been explained by the sword. The duke's dominions were ravaged, and this invasion of Francis was what procured Geneva its full liberty, and made it as it were the new capital of the Reformed Religion. It happened that this same king, who put the innovators in religion to the most cruel deaths in Paris, who made public processions to atone for their errors, who said that " he would not spare even his own children if they were guilty of the like," was every where else the principal support of those whom he endeavoured to root out of his own dominions.

Father Daniel is guilty of great injustice in saying that the city of Geneva at that time broke into open rebellion against the duke of Savoy. This duke was not its sovereign ; it was a free imperial city, and like Cologne and many other cities, shared in the government with its bishop. The bishop had ceded his rights to the duke, and these rights, being contested, had been put in arbitration for twelve years before. This writer then should rather have observed, that Geneva was at that time a small and poor city ; and that since it became free, it has been twice as well peopled, industrious, and trading.

In the mean time, what fruits did Francis I. reap from so many enterprizes ? Charles V. arrives from Rome, obliges the French to repass the Alps, enters Provence with fifty thousand men, advances
 1536 as far as Marseilles, lays siege to Arles, while another of his armies lays waste Champagne and

and Picardy. Thus the fruit of this new attempt upon Italy was only exposing France itself to imminent danger.

Provence and Dauphiny were saved only by the wise conduct of the marechal de Montmorenci, as they have in our time been by another marechal of France. We may draw great advantage I think from history, by comparing times and events. It is a pleasure truly worthy of a good citizen, to examine into the means by which two victorious armies were driven out of the same state upon the same occasions. Those, who live amidst the indolence of great cities, know little of the pains and efforts that are required to get provisions in a country which has hardly sufficient to maintain its own inhabitants, to find money to pay the troops, to establish the necessary credit, to guard the banks of rivers, and to dislodge an enemy from the advantageous posts they may occupy. But such details do not enter into our plan; and it is only necessary to examine them at the instant of action. They are materials of the edifice, which are no longer to be considered when the building is completed.

That which more particularly characterises the disputes between Charles V. and Francis I. and the shocks which they gave to Europe, is an odd mixture of openness and double dealing, frantic anger, and cordial reconciliation, the most brutal insults buried in an instantaneous oblivion, together with the deepest artifice and most generous confidence.

Could one expect to find Charles and Francis having a familiar interview with each other, like two neighbouring gentlemen, after the captivity of Madrid, after the lie given to the teeth, after reciprocal challenges, and duels proposed in the presence of the pope, in full consistory, after the French king's league with sultan Solymán; and, in short, after the emperor had been accused, as publicly as unjustly, of having caused the first dauphin to be poisoned, and even while the frontiers of both kingdoms were yet smoaking with the blood of so many thousands slain?

And

And yet these two great rivals had an interview in the road of Aigue-mort *. This meeting had been mediated by the pope after the conclusion of a truce. Charles even came on shore, paid the first visit, and put himself into the hands of his declared enemy : this was the consequence of the spirit of the times. Charles always distrusted the promises of the monarch ; but he trusted without scruple to the honour of the knight.

The duke of Savoy was for a long time the victim of this interview. These two monarchs, who at the same time that they met with so much familiarity, were always concerting measures against each other, kept possession of the duke's places ; the king of France, to secure himself a passage, upon occasion, into the duchy of Milan, and the emperor to prevent him from it.

Charles V. after this interview at Aigue-mort made a journey to Paris, which is far more surprising than those of the emperors Sigismund and Charles IV.

At his return to Spain he heard that the city of Ghent, in Flanders, had revolted. How far this city had a right to maintain its privileges, and how far it had abused them, was a problem that force only could resolve. Charles, impatient to reduce and punish it, for this purpose demanded of the king a passage through his dominions, who sent the dauphin and the duke of Orleans to conduct him as far as Bayonne, and went in person to meet him at Chatelleraut.

The emperor, who was fond of travelling, took a pleasure in shewing himself to all the people of Europe, and indulging in the glory he had acquired. This journey was a continued series of feasting and merriment, and was undertaken for the sake of hanging twenty-four poor citizens. He might easily have spared himself so much fatigue, by sending a few troops to the governors of the Low Countries ; and it may even seem surprising

* A small town of Languedoc in France, which antiently stood near the sea, and had an harbour ; but at present is two French leagues distant from it, and its harbour choaked up.

that he had not left a sufficient number in Flanders to suppress this revolt; but it was the custom of those times to disband the troops immediately after a truce or a peace.

The design of Francis I. in receiving the emperor in his dominions with so much parade and civility, was to obtain from him at length a promise of the investiture of the duchy of Milan; and it was in this idle view that he refused the homage offered him by the inhabitants of Ghent: but he neither got Ghent nor Milan.

It has been pretended that the constable de Montmorency was put out of the king's favour for having advised him to be content with a verbal promise from Charles. I relate this trifling event, because, if true, it shews the human heart. A person, who has no one to blame but himself if he has followed evil counsel, is frequently unjust enough to condemn the author: but there was no reason to repent of not having exacted a mere verbal promise from Charles V. a promise in writing would not have been more binding.

Francis himself had promised under his hand to give up Burgundy, and yet he was very far from abiding by that promise. A prince seldom gives up a large province to his enemy without being forced to it by arms. The emperor afterwards owned publicly, that he had promised the duchy of Milan to one of the king's sons; but insisted, at the same time, that it was only on condition that Francis should evacuate Turin, which he had still continued to keep.

The generous reception then which the king had given the emperor in France, so many sumptuous feasts, and all that shew of confidence and friendship on both sides, ended at last only in fresh wars.

While Solyman was still continuing to ravage Hungary, and while Charles V. to put the finishing hand to his glory, resolved to conquer the kingdom of Algiers as he had done that of Tunis, and failed in the undertaking, Francis I. renewed more strictly his alliance with Solyman. He sent two ministers privately to the pope, through Venice. These ministers were assassinated in their way by order of the marquis del Vasto, governor
of

of Milan, under pretence that they were the emperor's subjects. Francis Sforza, the last duke of Milan, had

1541 some years before caused another of the king's ministers to be beheaded. How are we to reconcile these breaches of the law of nations

with the generosity on which the officers of both princes piqued themselves? The war was now renewed with more animosity than ever, on the side of Piedmont, in the Pyrenées, and in Picardy. It was at this time that

the king's gallies joined those of Cheredin, furnished
1543 named Barbarossa, the sultan's admiral, and viceroy of Algiers. The flower de luce and

the crescent now flew jointly before the city of Nice, which however held out against all the attempts of the French and Turks, who were commanded by the count of Anguien of the Bourbon family, and the Turkish admiral; and the famous Andrew Doria coming to its relief with his gallies, Barbarossa returned with his fleet to Toulon.

This is the Doria who may deservedly be reckoned the chief of all those who assisted the fortunes of Charles V. He had the glory of defeating his galleys before Naples when admiral in the service of Francis I. and while his country, Genoa, was still under the French dominion. Like the constable Bourbon he thought himself obliged by the court intrigues to go over to the emperor's service. He several times defied the sultan's fleets to combat; but his chief honour was the having restored liberty to his country, of which Charles V. permitted him to be sovereign. But he preferred the title of Deliverer to that of Master, and established the government such as it now subsists, and lived to the age of ninety-four in the greatest reputation of any man in Europe. After his death the Genoese erected a statue to his memory, as deliverer of his country.

In the mean time the count of Anguien repaired the disgrace of Nice, by the victory which he gained over the marquis del Vasto at Cerizoles in Piedmont. There never was a victory more complete, and yet the conquer-

ors gained no sort of advantage from it *. It was the fate of the French to conquer to no purpose in Italy, as the battles of Agnadello, Fornova, Ravenna, Marignan, and Cerizoles, will eternally witness.

Henry VIII. by an inconceivable fatality entered into an alliance against France with that emperor whose aunt he had put away in so shameful a manner, and whose nephew he had declared a bastard, and who had in revenge caused pope Clement VII. to excommunicate him. Princes can at the voice of interest equally forget injuries and benefits: but in this case it seems to have been rather caprice than interest that induced Henry VIII. to join Charles V.

Henry proposed marching to Paris with an army of thirty thousand men. He besieged Boulogne by sea, while Charles was advancing into Picardy. What now was become of the balance of power which Henry was so fond of holding? His only intent was to embarrass Francis I. and thereby prevent him from throwing any obstacles in the way of the marriage, which he had projected between his son Edward and Mary Stewart of Scotland, who was afterwards queen of France. What a reason was this for declaring war?

These new dangers destroyed all the fruits of the victory of Cerizoles. The French king was obliged to recall a great part of that victorious army for the defence of the southern frontiers of the kingdom.

VOL. III.

I

France

* It was not without great difficulty that the duke de Enguien obtained leave to hazard a battle, on the issue of which the preservation of France in a great measure depended. When Blaise de Montluc prevailed upon the king to comply with the duke's request, the count de St. Pol said to him, "Madman, thou art going to be author of the greatest advantage or the greatest misfortune which can happen to thy country."

The Imperialists were more numerous than the French, by ten thousand men; yet they suffered a total overthrow, and great numbers of them were put to the sword. The fruit which Francis reaped from this victory was the reduction of Carignan, Montcallier, St. Damian, Vigon, Pont d'Esture, and the greater part of Montferat, as well as the opportunity of detaching a body of troops from this army, to cover Picardy and Champagne, into which the emperor and the king of England were on the point of penetrating.

France was now in greater danger than she had ever been. Charles was already advanced as far as Soissons, the king of England had taken Boulogne, and Paris itself began to tremble. Lutheranism now proved the safety of France, and was of more service to her than the Turks, on whom the king had placed so much dependence. The Lutheran princes of Germany all joined together in arms against Charles V. whom they began to fear would become despotic. Charles pressing

1544 France, and pressed by the empire, concluded a peace at Crepi in Valois, to turn his arms against his German subjects.

By this peace he again promised the duchy of Milan to the duke of Orleans, the king's son, who was to be his son-in-law: but destiny would not permit a prince of France to have possession of this province; and the death of the duke of Orleans saved the emperor the confusion of once more breaking his word.

Francis I. soon afterwards purchased a
1546 peace with England for eight hundred thousand crowns. These were his last exploits, and these the fruits of the designs he had all his life-time been forming upon Naples and Milan. He was in every thing the victim to the good fortune of Charles V. for he died some months after Henry VIII. of that almost incurable distemper * which had at that time been transplanted into Europe by the discovery of the new world. Such is the concatenation of events! A Genoese pilot gave a new world to Spain. Nature had placed in the islands of these distant climes, a poison which infects the springs of life, and by which a king of France was destined to perish. At his death he left a lasting dissention behind him, not between France and Germany, but between the houses of France and Austria.

CHAP.

* The venereal disorder lately brought from Hispaniola to Europe by the soldiers of Columbus, who, by the bye, deserves a more honourable appellation than that of a Genoese pilot: for whatever he might have been originally, he certainly acted as a Castilian admiral when he discovered the West Indies, and was in all respects a very great man.

C H A P. CV.

Troubles in GERMANY. Battle of MULBERG. The Greatness, Disgrace, and Abdication of CHARLES V.

THE death of Francis I. did not level the way to that universal monarchy which Charles V. is said to have aspired after. That prince was still very distant from it: he not only had a formidable enemy in Henry II. who succeeded Francis on the throne of France; but at that time also the princes and cities of Germany, which had embraced the new religion, raised a civil war, and assembled a large army against him. It was rather the party of liberty than that of Lutheranism.

This emperor, deemed so powerful, was not able, even with the assistance of his brother Ferdinand, king of Hungary and Bohemia, to raise so large an army of Germans as the confederates could bring into the field. Charles was therefore obliged in order to raise an equal force, to have recourse to his Spaniards, and to borrow money and troops of pope Paul III.

Nothing could be more complete and glorious than the victory he gained over the army of the confederates at Mulberg. The elector of Saxony, and the landgrave of Hesse were among the number of his prisoners; the Lutheran party were thrown into the greatest consternation, the conquered were loaded with immense taxes, and, in short, all together seemed to render him despotic in Germany; but the same thing now happened to him as after the taking of Francis I. he lost all the fruits of his good fortune. Pope Paul, who had so much befriended him before his victory, withdrew his troops as soon as he saw him become too powerful; and Henry VIII. of England spirited up the languishing remains of the Lutheran party in Germany. The new elector of Saxony, Maurice, on whom Charles had bestowed the

duchy of the conquered elector, soon declared against him, and even put himself at the head of the league.

At length this emperor, who had been for
 1552 terrible to all Europe, is on the point of being made prisoner, with his brother, by the confederates, and is obliged to fly with the utmost precipitation and disorder to the defiles of Inspruc. At the same time the French king, Henry II. seized upon Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which have ever since remained in the house of France, as the reward of having secured the Germanic liberty. Thus we see that the grandees of the empire, and even the Lutheran religion itself, have in all times owed their preservation to the kings of France. The same thing happened afterwards under Ferdinand II. and Ferdinand III.

And now the possessor of Mexico is obliged to borrow two hundred thousand gold crowns from Cosmo duke of Florence, to endeavour to recover Metz; and having compromised matters with the Lutherans, that he might be more at liberty to revenge himself on the French king, he laid siege to that city, with an army of fifty thousand men. This is one of the most memorable sieges we meet with in history, and has

1552 immortalized the reputation of Francis of Guise, who defended the town sixty-five days against the emperor's army, and at length obliged him to abandon his design, after losing one third of his forces.

The power of Charles V. was at that time a vast heap of honours and dignities, surrounded on all sides by precipices. The troubles he was engaged in all his lifetime would never permit him to form his large dominions into a strong and compact body, whose parts might all mutually assist each other, and supply him with a numerous army kept constantly on foot. This Charlemagne happily effected: but then his dominions lay all contiguous; and after having conquered the Saxons and Lombards, he had not a Solyman to repulse: he had no king of France to fight against, nor had he the powerful princes of Germany, and a pope still more powerful, to suppress or fear.

Charles

Charles knew full well what kind of cement was required to raise an edifice equal in strength to the greatness of Charleimagne. It was necessary that his son Philip should have the empire; then, as the mines of Mexico and Peru made him richer than all the other kings of Europe put together, he might have arrived at that universal monarchy which is much easier imagined than attained.

In this view Charles employed his utmost endeavours to persuade his brother Ferdinand, king of the Romans, to cede the empire to Philip; but so disagreeable a proposal only served to set Ferdinand and Philip at variance for ever.

At length, wearied with so many efforts, grown old before his time, and undeceived in every thing, after having attempted every thing, he resigned his crowns*, and renounced the society of mankind at the age of fifty-four, a time of life in which the age and ambition of other men are in their full vigour, and when many inferior princes begin to appoint their ministers, and enter upon the career of their greatness.

Before I proceed to take a view of the influence which Philip II. had over one half of Europe, the great power of the English under their queen Elizabeth, and what was the fate of Italy, in what manner the republic of the United Provinces was established, and the dreadful condition to which the kingdom of France was reduced, I judge it necessary to speak of the revolutions which happened in religion, as this had had a principal

I 3

share

* Charles published an act of his abdication in the Latin tongue; then he sent the imperial ornaments to his brother Ferdinand, took leave of all the ambassadors that attended his court, thanked his officers, and recommended them to his son Philip; repaired to Zealand, from whence he sailed to the port of Laredo, in Biscay, and set out for the place of his retreat, which was the monastery of St. Justus, situated on the frontiers of Castile, in the province of Estremadura, a most romantic valley, surrounded with agreeable hills. Here he lived seemingly happy, as a private person, about eighteen months, and died in the year 1558, at the age of fifty-seven. Some authors alledge that he lived long enough in this retreat, to repent heartily of his abdication. But this is no other than a surmise.

share in all affairs, either as a cause or pretence, ever since the time of Charles V.

I shall then give a sketch of the conquests of the Spaniards in America, and of those made by the Portuguese in the Indies; miraculous events, of which Philip II. reaped the whole benefit, and by which he became the most powerful monarch in Christendom.

CHAP. CVI.

Of LEO X. and of the CHURCH.

YOU have taken a survey of that vast chaos in which the Christian states of Europe were confusedly plunged, from the time of the downfall of the Roman empire. The political government of the church, which in all appearance ought to have united these divided parts, was unhappily a fresh source of confusion, hitherto unknown in the annals of the world. The church of Rome and that of Greece were at continual variance, and by their disputes had opened the gates of Constantinople to the Ottoman power.

The empire and the pontificate, which were continually in arms against each other, had laid waste Italy, Germany, and almost all the other states of Christendom. The mixture of these two powers, which were always opposing each other either secretly or publicly, proved the source of everlasting dissensions. The feudal government had made sovereigns of several bishops and monks. The limits of their dioceses were different from those of the state; the same city was Italian or German as to its bishop, and French as to its king. You have seen in what manner the secular jurisdiction was in every thing opposed to the ecclesiastic, except in those dominions where the church was, and still is, supreme; how every secular prince endeavoured to render his government independent of the see of Rome, without being able to effect

fect it. You have seen the bishops sometimes opposing the pope, and at others uniting with him against crowned heads; in a word, that the whole republic of the Latin communion was almost always unanimous in point of doctrine, and perpetually at variance in every other respect.

After the detestable, but successful pontificate of Alexander VI. and after the military, and still more happy reign of pope Julius II. the popes might with justice consider themselves as the masters of Italy, and the influencers of the rest of Europe. No other Italian power possessed larger territories, except the king of Naples, who was still a feudatory of the papal crown.

Under these favourable circumstances, the twenty-four cardinals, who at that time composed the whole college, raised to the pontificate 1513 John de Medicis, great great grandson to the famous Cosmo de Medicis, who was a private merchant, and the father of his country.

John de Medicis, who took the name of Leo X. was made a cardinal when he was only fourteen, and elected pope before he was thirty-six years old. His family was then returned again to Tuscany, and Leo had soon interest enough to place his brother Peter at the head of the administration in Florence. He married his other brother, Julian, surnamed the Magnificent, to the princess of Savoy, who was likewise duchess of Nemours, and made him one of the most powerful noblemen of Italy. These three brothers, who had been educated under Angelus Politianus and Calcondilas, were all of them truly worthy of such masters, and vied with each other in cultivating learning and the liberal arts; so as to deserve that this age should be called the Medicean age. The pontiff, in particular, united the most refined taste with an unparalleled magnificence. He encouraged great geniuses in all the arts by his bounty and engaging behaviour. His coronation cost one hundred thousand gold crowns. On this occasion he had the *Penula of Plautus* acted, and the glorious days of the Roman empire seemed revived under him. All austerity was banished from religion, which now acquired the

respect of every one by the most pompous ceremonies. The barbarous stile of the Datary was entirely laid aside, to make room for the eloquence of the cardinals Bembo and Sadolet, at that time secretaries of the Briefs, men who imitated the latinity of Cicero, and seemed to adopt his sceptical philosophy. The comedies of Aristophanes and Machiavel, void as they are of modesty and piety, were frequently played at this court in presence of the pope and his cardinals, by young people of the best quality in Rome. The merit alone of these works (held in high esteem in this age) rendered them agreeable; and what might appear offensive to religion in them, was not perceived by a court wholly taken up with intrigues and pleasures, and which thought that religion stood in no danger from these trifling liberties. And indeed, as neither the doctrine nor the power of the church were here concerned, the court of Rome was no more offended at them than the antient Greeks and Romans were at the jokes of Aristophanes and Plautus.

Though Leo X. was perfectly absolute in serious affairs, he never suffered them to break in upon his more delicate pleasures. Even the conspiracy formed against his life by two of his cardinals, and the exemplary punishment he inflicted on them, made no alteration in the gaiety of his court.

The cardinals Petrucci and Soli, incensed against the pope for having taken the duchy of Urbino from the nephew of Julius II. bribed a surgeon who used to dress a secret ulcer of the pope's, and the death of this pontiff was to be the signal of a revolution in several of the cities of the ecclesiastical state. The plot however

1517 was discovered, and several of those concerned in it put to death. The two cardinals were put to the torture, and afterwards condemned to die. Cardinal Petrucci was hanged in prison, and the other purchased his life with his riches.

It is very remarkable, that they were condemned by the secular magistrates of Rome, and not their peers. The pope by this action, seemed to invite all the crowned heads to make the clergy subject to the ordinary

COURT.

courts of justice, but the holy see never thought of yielding to kings a right which it assumed to itself. How comes it that the cardinals, who have the electing of popes, have left them in possession of this despotic power, while the electors and the princes of the empire have so much curtailed the power of the emperors? The reason is, that these princes have dominions, and the cardinals have only dignities.

This melancholy event soon gave place to the customary amusements. Leo X. in order to wipe away the remembrance of a cardinal condemned to die by the halter, created thirty new ones, most of them Italians, and of the same disposition with their master; and though they might not have quite so good a taste, or so much learning, as the pontiff, they at least came very near to him in the indulgence of their pleasures. Their example was followed by most of the prelacy. Spain was at that time the only country where the church still adhered to a severity of manners, which had been introduced by cardinal Ximenes, a man of an austere and morose disposition, who had no taste but for absolute authority, and who, when regent of Spain, went always dressed in the habit of a cordelier, and was wont to say, that he could bind all the grandees of the kingdom to their duty by his cord, and crush their pride beneath his sandals.

In every other country the prelates lived with all the voluptuousness of princes; some of them were in possession of eight or nine bishoprics at once. It is astonishing, at this time, to reckon the number of benefices enjoyed by some of them at that time; such as cardinal Wolfsey and the cardinal of Lorraine, and many others; but this multitude of church-livings heaped on a single person, had no worse consequences then, than the number of bishoprics now held by the electors or prelates of Germany.

All writers, both protestant and catholic, greatly inveigh against the general depravity of manners in those times. They tell us, that the prelates, curates, and monks, led the most easy and happy lives; and nothing was more common than for prelates to bring up their

children in a public manner, after the example of Alexander VI. It is certain, that there is yet extant the will of one Croui, at that time bishop of Cambray, in which he leaves several legacies to his children, and reserves a sum "for the bastards which he hopes God will be pleased to give him, in case he should recover from his illness." These are the very words of the will. Pope Pius II. had long before that declared in writing, "That, for very good reasons, priests had been forbidden to marry; but that, for still better reasons, it ought to be allowed them." The protestants have carefully collected facts, which prove, that in several of the states of Germany, the people obliged their ministers to keep mistresses, that their wives might remain in greater security: but still it must be owned, that this was no reason for authorising so many civil wars, nor for killing other men because the priests got children.

But that which most disgusted the public, was the granting of general and particular indulgences, absolutions, and dispensations, at all prices. This kind of apostolic tax was uncertain and unlimited before the time of pope John XXII. who first settled it, and reduced it to a code of the canon-law. A deacon or sub-deacon, who had been guilty of murder, was absolved, and had permission to hold three benefices for twelve livres tournois, three ducats, and six carlines, which is about twenty crowns. A bishop and an abbot might commit murder for about three hundred livres, and the most unnatural or indecent acts had their stated price. Bestiality was assessed at two hundred and fifty livres; dispensations might be purchased, not only for sins actually committed, but even for those which a person might have an inclination to commit. There has been found, in the archives of Joinville, a reversionary indulgence for the cardinal of Lorraine, and twelve persons of his retinue, by which each of them had the choice of any three sins they chused to commit. Le Laboureur, a very exact writer, says, that the duchess of Bourbon and Auvergne, sister to Charles VIII. had a right to claim absolution for herself, and for ten persons of her retinue, for all the

sins

finns they should commit, during their lives, upon forty-seven holidays in the year, exclusive of Sundays.

This strange abuse seems to have had its origin in the antient laws of the European nations, and of the Franks, Saxons, and Burgundians. The court of Rome did not adopt this rating of sins and dispensations till the times of anarchy, and when the popes no longer dared to reside at Rome. No council ever made a tax upon sins an article of faith.

Among these abuses some were oppressive, and others ridiculous. Those who said that the superstructure should be repaired without totally destroying it, seemed to have said all that could be offered in answer to the complaints of an incensed people. The great number of masters of families, who are continually labouring to secure a moderate competency for their wives and children; and the still greater number of artificers, and labourers, who earn their bread by the sweat of their brows, could not without concern behold those lazy monks fattening in the midst of luxury, and leading the lives of princes. It was answered, that the money expended upon this luxury returned again into the general circulation. The effeminate lives of these priests, far from disturbing the inward peace of the church, rather strengthened it*; and their very excesses, had they even been carried to a greater length, would certainly have been less dangerous than the horrors of war, and the sacking of towns. It may here be objected, what is said by Machiavel, the celebrated doctor, of those who understand nothing but politics. He says in his discourse on Titus Livius, "That the excessive wickedness of the Italians of his time, was to be imputed to religion and the priests." But it is clear, that he cannot by this, mean the wars raised on account of religion, since there were none at that time; he can only understand by these

* Our author seems to lay no stress on the force of bad example, exhibited by those who directed the consciences, and superintended the morals of the laity. What idea must the people, at that time overwhelmed in ignorance, have conceived, from the luxury, profligacy, and vice of its professors!

these words the wickedness of Alexander VI. and his court, and the ambition of certain churchmen, which is very foreign to the doctrines, the disputes, persecutions, rebellions, and that bloody animosity among the divines, which produced so many murders.

We are told that the republic of Venice itself, whose government was esteemed the wisest in Europe, took great pains to indulge all its clergy in a life of pleasure and dissipation, to the end that by being less respected among the people, they might not have the power to raise commotions. There were nevertheless, in all places men of exemplary purity of manners, pastors truly worthy of that title, and monks who, from their hearts, submitted to those vows of austerity which shock the effeminate mind : but these virtues are buried in obscurity, while luxury and vice lord it in splendor.

The pleasures which surrounded the voluptuous court of Leo X. could not escape attention ; but at the same time it was easily perceived that this very court contributed to civilize Europe, and render mankind more sociable. After the persecution against the Hussites, religion no longer raised any troubles in the world. The inquisition indeed exercised great cruelties in Spain upon the Jews and Mahometans, but these were not such general misfortunes as subvert nations. The greatest part of the Christians lived in an happy ignorance ; and there were not perhaps in all Europe ten gentlemen who had a bible. This book had not been translated into the vulgar tongue, or at least the translations made of it in a few countries were entirely unknown.

The higher clergy, wholly occupied in temporal matters, knew how to enjoy their good fortune, and never troubled themselves with religious disputes. It may be said, that pope Leo X. by the encouragement he gave to learning, furnished arms against himself. I have been told by an English nobleman, that he had seen a letter from cardinal Polus or Pole, to this pope, in which, while he is felicitating his holiness upon having extended the progress of the sciences in Europe, he gives him to understand, that it was dangerous to make men too knowing. Leo X. was far from having any apprehen-

sions

sions from the change he saw in Christendom, of which his magnificence, and one of the noblest undertakings that could dignify a prince, were the principal causes.

His predecessor Julius II. under whose pontificate painting and architecture began to make such great advances, resolved that Rome should have a temple, which might not only surpass the famous one of St. Sophia at Constantinople, but be one of the most magnificent edifices yet erected in the world; and he had the resolution to undertake what he could never hope to see completed. Leo X. warmly pursued this noble scheme; it required immense sums, and his magnificence had already drained his treasury. Every Christian ought to have contributed to the raising this wonder of the capital of Europe; but the sums requisite for carrying on public works are not raised without great art or force. Leo X. had recourse, if I may be allowed the expression, to one of St. Peter's keys, which had on other occasions been made use of to open the coffers of the public, and fill those of the popes.

He pretended a war against the Turks, and ordered a sale of indulgences to be made thro' all the states of Christendom. An indulgence is a deliverance from the pains of purgatory, either in person, or for one's friends or relations. A public sale of this kind shews the spirit of the times. No one was surprised at it: there were offices for indulgences in every part, and they were established in the same manner as the customs. Most of the collectors used to hold their offices in taverns. The preacher, the person who farmed them, and he who distributed them, had each a profit upon them. The pope gave part of the money arising from them to his sister, and yet nobody murmured at it. The preachers used to declare openly from the pulpit, "That if any one had even ravished the Holy Virgin, he might have absolution by purchasing these indulgences;" and the people listened to such speeches with the utmost devotion. But when the farm of this tax was given to the Dominican friars in Germany, the Augustines, who had long been in possession of it, became jealous; and the private interest of a few monks in a corner of Saxony, produced

produced more than two hundred years of discord, rage, and misfortunes, among thirty kingdoms.

C H A P. CVII. and CVIII.

Of LUTHER and ZUINGLIUS.

YOU cannot but know that this mighty revolution in the human mind, and in the political System of Europe, was begun by Martin Luther, an Augustine monk, whom his superiors engaged to preach against those commodities which they could not dispose of. The dispute was at first between the two orders of the Augustines and Dominicans.

Had any one told Luther at that time, that he would subvert the Roman catholic religion in almost one half of Europe, he would not have believed it. He went farther than he thought for, as is the case in all disputes, and in almost all transactions.

After having cried down indulgences, he
 1517 next proceeded to examine the power of him who granted them. The veil was now partly drawn aside; the people were stirred up, and resolved to judge themselves of what had been so long the object of their implicit reverence. Not all the horrors committed by Alexander VI. and his family had raised the least doubt about the spiritual power of the pope; three hundred thousand pilgrims had come to Rome to attend his jubilee: but the times were changed, and the measure of iniquity was full. The pleasurable pontificate of Leo X. was punished for the crimes of Alexander VI. A reformation was first insisted upon, and a total separation soon followed. It was evident that men in power are not easily to be reformed; it was therefore their authority and wealth which were here aimed at, and to throw off the yoke of the Roman taxes. In fact, how could the pleasures of the court of Rome concern the people of Stockholm, Copenhagen, London, or Dresden?

den ? But it concerned them to be relieved from their exorbitant taxes, and to prevent the archbishop of Upsal from becoming master of a kingdom. The revenues of the archbishopric of Magdeburg, and several of the rich abbeys, were alluring baits to the secular princes. The separation, which arose as it were of itself, and from very slight causes, did, however, operate principally in bringing about the reformation so much desired, and which in the end has proved of so little effect. The manners of the court of Rome are become more decent indeed, and the clergy of France more learned ; and it must be acknowledged that the clergy in general have been amended by the protestants, as one rival becomes more circumspect from the prying jealousy of another.

To bring about this great separation, nothing more was required than a prince capable of stirring up the people. The old elector of Saxony, Frederic, surnamed the Wise, and the same who, after the death of Maximilian, nobly refused the imperial crown, was the declared protector of Luther. This revolution in the church began in the same manner as all those by which the people have deposed their sovereigns ; namely, by first presenting petitions, then setting forth grievances, and lastly subverting the throne. There were no absolute marks of an intended separation in laughing at indulgences, in requiring to partake of both species at communion, in advancing some unintelligible things concerning justification and free-will, in aiming at the abolishment of the monkish orders, or in offering to prove that the holy scripture no where expressly mentions purgatory.

Leo X. who in his own mind despised such kind of disputes, was obliged, as pope, to ana- 1520
thematize by bull all these propositions. He did not know that England in secret powerfully supported Luther. It has been said, that the best method to have made him change his opinion, would have been to have sent him a cardinal's hat : but the contempt he was held in proved fatal to the church of Rome.

Luther no longer kept any measures ; he composed his book called *The Captivity of Babylon*, in which he exhorted all crowned heads to throw off the papal yoke,
and

and inveighed strongly against private masses; and this work was so much the more applauded, as he therein greatly condemned the public sale of these masses; They had been first brought into vogue by the Mendicant monks of the thirteenth century, and were purchased by the people in the same manner as they still are, whenever it is required. This was no more than a small contribution raised for the subsistence of the poor religious, and officiating priests; a kind of trifling fee, which could by no means be grudged to those who live only by alms and the altar, and which at that time amounted in France to about two sols of the current money, and not quite so much in Germany. Transubstantiation was condemned as a term not to be found in the scriptures, nor in the writings of the primitive fathers. The followers of Luther pretended, that the doctrine which teaches that the bread and wine is annihilated while the form still remains, had not been universally held by the church till the time of pope Gregory VII. and that this doctrine had been first taught and explained by a Benedictine monk, called Paschasius Rather, in the ninth century. They turned over all the dark archives of antiquity, in search of reasons for separating themselves from the church of Rome, founded on mysteries which human weakness can never dive into. Luther retained some part of the mystery, and rejected the other; he owned that the body of Jesus Christ was in the consecrated elements, but in such manner, said he, as fire may be said to be in heated iron; the fire and the iron subsist together. This manner of confounding the body of Christ with the bread and wine, is called by Osiander, impanation, invination and consubstantiation. Luther contented himself with saying, that the body and blood of our saviour was in, above, and beneath, *in, cum, sub.*

The Dominican monks, assisted by the pope's nuncios in Germany, ordered all Luther's books to be burnt, and the pope issued a fresh bull against him. Luther in return burnt the pope's bull and the decretals in the public market-place at Wittemberg. This action shews the boldness of the man, and at the same time that

that he was already grown very powerful. This new reformer had even then a great part of Germany in his interest, who, grown weary of the papal greatness, did not stand to examine nicely into scholastic propositions.

In the mean time these questions became greatly multiplied. The dispute about free-will, another stumbling-block in the way of human reason, mingled its inexhaustible stream of absurd quarrels with the torrent of theological animosity. Luther himself denied the doctrine of free-will, which nevertheless has since been received by his followers. The universities of Louvain and Paris wrote in defence of it; and this latter suspended a dispute it was then engaged in, viz. whether there were three Magdalens, or only one Magdalen, to condemn Luther's propositions.

Aristotle was necessarily drawn into this dispute, as the schools were at that time his disciples; and Luther having asserted that Aristotle's doctrine was of no use to the understanding the scriptures, the holy faculty at Paris condemned this assertion as erroneous, and proceeding from a madman. The most idle theses were mingled with the profoundest disputations, and the mutual hatred of both parties was kept alive by false imputations, gross abuses, and reciprocal anathemas.

There is no reading, without a mixture of contempt and pity, the manner in which Luther treats all his opponents, and particularly the pope. "Little pope little popey, you are an ass, a little ass; walk softly, it is slippery, you may break your legs, and then it will be said, what the devil is all this? the little ass of a popey is crippled; an ass knows that he is an ass, a stone knows that it is a stone; but these little asses of popes do not know that they are asses." These mean vulgarisms, which would now-a-days be so disgustful, did not at all displease the groveling minds of those times; and Luther, with all this lowness of a barbarous stile, triumphed in his country over the politeness of the court of Rome.

Capricious destiny, which sports with the world, ordered it so that Henry VIII. of England engaged in this

this dispute. He had been educated by his father in the idle and absurd sciences of those days.

The fiery and impetuous spirit of young Henry had greedily imbibed the subtleties of the schools. He now resolved to draw his pen against Luther; but before he began, he desired pope Leo's permission to read the books of this arch-heretic, which had been forbidden to all Christians, under pain of excommunication. Leo granted him his request; and the king wrote a book, in which he explained the writings of St. Thomas, and defended the seven sacraments against Luther, who then allowed of three only, which were afterwards reduced to two. This book was written in great haste, and sent to Rome. His holiness, charmed with a work which is now scarcely read by any one, compared it to the writings of St. Jerome and St. Augustine, and conferred the title of Defender of the Faith on king Henry and his successors. But on whom did he bestow this title? On the very man who a few years afterwards, was to become the most implacable enemy of the church of Rome.

Luther had few followers in Italy; that ingenious nation was too much taken up with pleasures and intrigues to engage in these disputes; nor did the Spaniards, though naturally an active and busy people, interfere with them. The French likewise, though with the same turn as both these nations, and moreover with a strong taste for novelty, meddled with neither party. In short, the only theatre of this war of the imagination was in Germany, and in the Swiss nation, who were not at that time looked upon as the most cunning people of the world, and are thought very circumspect. The learned and polite court of Rome never suspected, that those whom she looked upon as a set of barbarians, could, armed with the bible as with a sword, wrest from her the one half of Europe, and stagger the fidelity of the other.

It is a great question in politics, whether Charles V. at that time emperor, ought to have embraced the reformed religion, or have opposed it. By throwing off the papal yoke, he at one blow revenged the four hundred

dred years oppression which the empire had undergone from the pontifical crown, and the insults it had offered to the imperial diadem; but at the same time he run the risk of losing all Italy. It was necessary for him to keep fair with the pope, who was to join him against Francis I. Moreover the subjects of his hereditary dominions were all of them catholics; and he is even reproached with having beheld with pleasure the rise of a faction, which gave him an opportunity of raising taxes and troops in the empire, and crushing both catholics and protestants beneath the weight of absolute power. At length he thought himself engaged, in politics and honour, to declare against Luther, although perhaps he was of the same opinion with him at the bottom, in relation to some articles, as was suspected by the Spaniards after his death.

He therefore summoned Luther, to appear and give an account of his doctrine before the imperial diet of Worms, or, in other words, to come and declare whether he maintained the tenets which had been condemned by the church of Rome. Luther obeyed the summons, and appeared, with a safe-conduct from the emperor exposing himself boldly to the same fate with John Hus; but this assembly being wholly composed of princes, he trusted to their honour. He spoke before the emperor and the diet, and 1521 defended his doctrine with great courage. It is said that Charles V. was strongly solicited by Aleandro, the pope's nuncio, to cause Luther to be arrested, notwithstanding the safe-conduct he had granted him, in the same manner as Sigismund, contrary to public faith, had given up John Hus; but Charles made answer, "That he would not, like Sigismund, do any thing he should have reason to be ashamed of."

Luther, notwithstanding he had the emperor, the king of England, the pope, and all the bishops and monks against him, was not in the least dismayed; but hidden in a strong hold in Saxony, from thence he braved the emperor, exasperated one half of Germany against the pope, answered the king of England as he would

would an equal, and strengthened and extended his new-raised church.

The old elector of Saxony, Frederic, earnestly wished the extirpation of the Romish church; Luther thought this a proper time to abolish private masses, and he set about it in a manner which, in times of greater knowledge, would not have met with extraordinary approbation. He pretended that the devil had appeared to him, and reproached him with saying private masses, and with consecrating. The devil, he said, proved to him that it was an idolatrous custom; and then he concluded his tale with saying, that he acknowledged the devil to be in the right, and that he ought to be believed. Accordingly mass was laid aside in the city of Wittemberg, and soon afterwards in all the other places of Saxony. The images were pulled down; the religious of both sexes left their cloisters; and in a few years Luther himself was married to a nun named Catherine Bore. The priests of the old communion reproached him with not being able to live without a wife, and Luther accused them of not being able to live without mistresses. These mutual reproaches were very different; the catholic priests, accused of incontinence, were obliged to own that they transgressed the whole church discipline; whereas Luther and his followers had only made a change in it.

The law of history obliges us to do justice to the greater part of those monks who left their churches and their cloisters to enter into matrimony. It is true they resumed a liberty of which they had before made a sacrifice, and they broke their vows; but they were not libertines in their lives, nor could any one reproach them with giving offence by their behaviour. By the same impartial rule we are under a necessity of remarking, that Luther and his monks, by contracting marriages which were useful to the state, were no more guilty of a violation of their vows, than these are, who, having made profession of poverty and humility, continue in the enjoyment of vain-glorious riches.

Among the number of things alledged against Luther, it was said by several, by way of irony, that he
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who had taken the devil's advice in overthrowing mass, shewed his gratitude to him by abolishing the practice of exorcisms, and aimed at levelling all the bulwarks which had been raised to keep out the enemy of mankind. It has been remarked since, that in all those countries where exorcisms have been laid aside, they have no longer heard of witchcraft or persons possessed by the devil; and it has been said, both in words and writing, that the devils knew little of their own interest, in taking refuge among the catholics, who alone have the power of commanding them. It has also been observed, that there is a prodigious number of magicians and possessed people in the Romish communion, even to this day. However, this is too serious a subject to divert one's self with; for it was certainly a very melancholy affair, that proved the ruin of so many families, and the punishment of a number of unfortunate wretches, as it is a great happiness to mankind, that the courts of justice, in the more enlightened countries, no longer give ear to idle stories of fascinations and magic. Those of the reformed religion renewed this stumbling block above two hundred years before the catholics, for which they were accused of striking at the foundation of the christian religion; and it was objected to them, that possessions by demons and witchcrafts, are expressly admitted by the holy scriptures; that Christ himself drove out evil spirits, and in a particular manner sent his apostles to do the same in his name. To this powerful objection the protestants made the same answer, as all prudent magistrates do at this time; that God permitted some things in former times which he does not permit at present; and that the church stood in need of miracles at her first institution, which, now that she is perfectly established, she has no longer occasion for.

The first country, next to Germany, into which this new sect, known by the name of the primitive church, extended itself, was Swisserland. Zuinglius, curate of Zurich, went still farther than Luther; for he admitted neither of impanation nor invination. He would not allow that God entered into the bread and wine, much less that the whole body of Christ was wholly
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and entirely in every morsel and drop of the elements. In France they gave him the name of Sacramentarian, which appellation was at first extended to all the protestants of his sect.

Zuinglius drew upon himself the abuse of all the clergy of his country. The affair was brought before the magistracy; and the senate of Zurich examined the cause in the same manner as if it had related to an inheritance. It was then put to the vote, and the majority were for the reformers. The people were

1523 waiting in crouds for the senate's decree, when the town-clerk came out and acquainted them that Zuinglius had gained his cause; upon which they in an instant became of the senate's religion. Thus a village of Swisserland fate in judgment upon the church of Rome. Happy people after all! whose simplicity referred that to its magistrates, which neither they, nor themselves, nor Zuinglius, could by any means be perfect judges of.

A few years afterwards, the magistracy of 1528 Berne, which town is the same in Swisserland as Amsterdam is in the United Provinces, entered upon a more solemn trial of this cause; and the senate after hearing both sides for the space of two months, condemned the Romish religion. The decree was received without difficulty by the whole canton; and a pillar was erected, on which this solemn sentence was engraven in letters of gold, and it has ever since continued in full force.

The senates of Berne and Zurich had now given the people a new religion; but at Basil the people imposed it upon the senate. There were at that time thirteen Swiss cantons; the five smallest and poorest of these namely, Lucerne, Zug, Switz, Uri, and Underwald, which remained firm to the catholic communion, began a civil war against the others. This was the first religious war between the catholics and those of the reformed religion. The curate Zuinglius put

1531 himself at the head of the protestant army and was slain in the engagement. He was deemed an holy martyr by his own party, and an execrable

crable heretic by the opposite one. The catholics after their victory caused his body to be quartered by the executioner, and afterwards thrown into a fire. These were only the preludes to those extremes of fury into which both parties afterwards ran.

The famous Zuinglius*, in establishing his sect, seemed more zealous for the cause of liberty than that of religion. He held it sufficient to be virtuous to merit eternal happiness, and that Cato, St. Paul, Numa, and Abraham, enjoyed an equal portion of felicity. His religion was afterwards called Calvinism, Calvin having given it his name, as Americus Vesputius gave his to the new world, first discovered by Columbus. Thus, in the space of a few years, there arose three new churches; that of Luther, that of Zuinglius, and the church of England, all separated from the centre of union, and governed by their own laws. The church of France, though it had never broke with its head, was nevertheless looked upon at Rome as a separate member, with regard to several points; such as the superiority of councils, the fallibility of the chief pontiff, some of the episcopal rights, the power of legates, the nomination to church-livings, and the tributes paid to the holy see. The great society of Christendom resembled in one respect the heathen empires, which were in the beginning very poor republics; these republics in time became rich monarchies; and these monarchies afterwards lost some of their provinces, which became republics.

CHAP.

* Zuinglius insisted upon free-will, whereas Luther adhered to grace. Calvin adopted the doctrines of grace and predestination, consequently Calvinism was different from the religion of Zuinglius.

C H A P. CIX.

The Progress of LUTHERANISM in SWEDEN, DENMARK, and GERMANY.

DENMARK and all Sweden embraced the Lutheran religion. The Swedes listened chiefly to the dictates of revenge in throwing off the episcopal yoke of the Romish church. They had 1523 long been oppressed by their bishops, especially by the archbishops of Upsal, who were primates of the kingdom; and they were still full of indignation at the remembrance of the cruelties which had been committed three years before by the last archbishop Troll. This prelate, who was minister and accomplice of Christian II. surnamed the Nero of the North, and the tyrant of Denmark and Sweden, was a monster of cruelty, as detestable as Christian himself. He had obtained a bull from the pope against the senate of Stockholm, who had opposed his depredations, and Christian's usurpations; but every thing was now quiet, and the two tyrants, Christian and his archbishop, had sworn upon the gospel to forget what had passed. The king gave an entertainment in his palace to two of the bishops, all the members of the senate, and ninety-four of the principal noblemen. The tables were all covered, and they were in the midst of their festivity and joy, when Christian and the archbishop arose from table and left the room, but presently returned again followed by a band of armed men and executioners; and the archbishop holding the pope's bull in his hand, gave orders to put all the guests to death. They ripped open the breast of the grand prior of the order of Jerusalem, and plucked out his heart. The tyrants concluded their bloody feast by a massacre of all the common people, without distinction of age or sex.

These two monsters, who deserved to perish by the same punishment which they inflicted on the grand prior, died in their beds. Christian, however, was driven from

from the throne. The famous Gustavus Vasa delivered his country from this tyrant, as we have already shewn under the article of Sweden; and the four estates of the kingdom having decreed him the crown, he was one of the foremost to exterminate a religion which had been made the means of committing such execrable crimes. 1523

Lutheranism then was soon established without opposition in Sweden and Denmark, immediately upon the tyrant's being driven from the throne of these two kingdoms.

Luther now saw himself the apostle of the North, and enjoyed his glory in peace. In the year 1525 the dominions of Saxony, Brunswick and Hesse, and the cities of Stralsburg and Frankfort embraced his doctrine.

It is certain that the Romish church stood in great need of reformation; this was acknowledged by pope Adrian himself, who succeeded Leo X. and it is as certain, that if there had not been some superior in the Christian world, to determine the sense of the holy writings, and the particular tenets of religion, there would have been as many sects as there are men able to read. For, after all, the divine law-giver has given us but few written rules, and his disciples have been very sparing in their instructions; and those they have delivered are done in such a manner, as make them very difficult to be understood of themselves, almost every word being liable to a dispute.

But the protestants of Germany who were for following the letter of the gospel, exhibited a strange scene some few years afterwards, by dispensing with an acknowledged law which seemed established beyond the reach of attack. I mean the law by which a man is allowed only one wife, which is a positive institution, and on which depends the peace and happiness of all the states and private families of Christendom.

Philip, landgrave of Hesse, who was the second protector of Lutheranism, wanted to marry a young lady named Catharine de Saal, while his first wife Christina of Saxony was yet living; and what is perhaps more extraordinary, it appears from some original

papers relating to this affair, that he conceived this design upon a scruple of conscience. Here is one of the wonderful examples of the weakness of the human mind. This prince, who was in other respects a wise man, and a good politician, seemed to think seriously that he might transgress a law, the justness of which he could not but acknowledge, provided he had the permission of Luther and his companions. He delivered a remonstrance then to the heads of the church, setting forth, that the princess of Saxony, his wife, "was ugly, had offensive smells, and was frequently drunk." After this, he generously confesses in his remonstrance, that he had frequently fallen into the sin of fornication, and that his constitution required those pleasures. But what is not altogether so generous, he at the same time artfully hints to his doctors, that if they refused to grant him the dispensation he requires, he may possibly ask it of the pope.

Luther upon this assembled a small synod at Wittemberg, consisting of six of the chief protestant ministers. They were sensible that they were about to strike at a law that was observed even by those of their own sect. The examples of polygamy formerly given by christian princes, had ever been looked upon by all sober Christians as a great error. And tho' the emperor Valentinian the elder, had married Justina while his wife Severa was yet living; and several kings of France had had two or three wives at a time, the transgression of a law is no authority for any one. But the synod of Wittemberg did not consider marriage as a sacrament, but only as a civil contract; and declared that the church allowed a divorce, though the gospel forbid it; and moreover that the gospel in no place expressly enjoins the having no more than one wife: but, in short, the scandal appeared so plain, that they were glad to conceal it as much as possible from the eyes of the people. In fine, this permission for polygamy was signed, and the king was married to his mistress, even with the consent of the lawful wife herself.

Thus a thing which the popes had never dared to attempt, whose excessive power Luther had so severely attacked,

attacked, was done by him, who had no power at all. This dispensation of his was at first kept private; but time reveals all secrets of this nature. This example has not indeed been followed since; but the reason is, that a man seldom keeps two wives at the same time in his house, on account of the rivalry between them, which would occasion continual domestic strifes, and render three persons miserable. The law which permits a plurality of wives among the eastern people is the least regarded of any by private persons. They have indeed several mistresses; but perhaps there are not four Turks in all Constantinople that have a number of wives.

It would have been happy for the world if the innovations in religion had produced only scandals of this peaceable nature; but Germany became the theatre of the most bloody tragedies.

C H A P. CX.

Of the ANABAPTISTS.

TWO men, natives of Saxony, whose names were Storck and Muncer, making use of some passages in Scripture, where it is said that no man is a disciple of Christ, unless he has received the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, pretended to be inspired themselves.

These were the first enthusiasts we hear of in these times; they insisted that all children should be baptised over again, because Christ did not receive baptism till he was an adult; from this doctrine they acquired the name of Anabaptists. They declared themselves inspired, and sent to reform the Romish and Lutheran communions, and destroy every one who opposed the gospel they preached; founding their assertions on these words in holy writ, "I am not come to bring peace into the world, but a sword."

Luther had been successful in stirring up the princes, noblemen, and magistrates of Germany against the

pope and the bishops. Muncer stirred up the peasants against them all. He and his companions went about addressing themselves to the inhabitants of the country villages in Suabia, Misnia, Thuringia, and Franconia. They laid open that dangerous truth which is implanted in every breast, that mankind are all born equal, saying, that if the popes had treated the princes like their subjects, the princes had treated the common people like beasts.

It must be acknowledged, that the demands made by the Anabaptists, and delivered in writing in 1523 the name of the husbandmen and labourers, were extremely just; but it was letting loose so many wild bears, to make even a reasonable manifesto in their name. The cruelties which we have already seen exercised by the commons of France and England in the time of Charles VI. were now revived in Germany, and carried to a greater height of fury by the spirit of fanaticism. These tribes of savage beasts, while they preached up equality and reformation, committed the most dreadful ravages in all the places where they came, from Saxony to Lorraine; but at length they met with the common fate of all rioters who have not a skilful leader. After having committed the most shocking disorders, they were at length exterminated by the regular troops. Muncer, who had set

1525 himself up for a new Mahomet, perished upon a scaffold at Mulhausen. Luther, who had no actual share in these excesses, but who was nevertheless the primary cause of them, though unwillingly, by having been the first who levelled the bounds of submission, lost no part of his credit or reputation, but still continued to be esteemed a prophet in his own country.

C H A P. CXI.

Sequel of the State of LUTHERANISM and ANABAPTISM.

THE emperor Charles V. and his brother Ferdinand, were no longer able to stop the progress of the Protestants. The diet of Spire in vain drew up moderate articles of pacification. 1529 Fourteen towns, and several princes of Germany, protested against the edict of Spire; and it was this protest which occasioned the name of Protestants to be afterwards given to all the adversaries of the Romish church: Lutherans, Zuinglians, Oecolampadians, Carlostadians, Calvinists, Presbyterians, Puritans, and the high church and low church parties in England, all go under this general denomination. These altogether form an immense republic, composed of divers factions, which are all united against Rome their common enemy.

The Lutherans presented their confession of faith at Augsburg; and this confession, to 1530 which one third of Germany adhered, has since been their constant guide. The princes of this party already began to cabal together against the power of Charles V. as well as against the court of Rome; but no blood was as yet spilt in the empire on account of Luther, or his cause. The Anabaptists, still carried away by their blind rage, and whom the exemplary fate of their leader, Muncer, had not in the least intimidated, continued to lay Germany waste, in the name of God. Fanaticism had never before produced a fury equal to this in the world. The peasants, 1534 who all thought themselves prophets, and knew nothing more of Scripture than that it commanded them to massacre without pity all the enemies of the Lord, gained the upper hand in Westphalia, which was

then the country of stupidity, and made themselves masters of the city of Munster, and expelled its bishops. They at first intended to establish a theocracy like that of the Jews, acknowledge no other master than God: but one Matthew, who was the chief prophet among them, having been killed, a journeyman taylor, called John of Leyden, from being born in the city of Leyden in Holland, assured them that God had appeared to him, and appointed him king; and he made them believe all that he said.

The ceremony of his coronation was conducted with the greatest magnificence. There are still to be seen some pieces of the coin, which he struck with his arms on them, which were two swords placed across, in the same manner as the pope's keys. Thus become king and prophet at the same time, he dispatched twelve apostles to declare his reign through all Lower Germany. As to himself, after the example of the kings of Israel, he had several wives, and actually married seventeen at once. One of these having dropt some expressions against his authority, he cut off her head in presence of the others, who, either through fear or superstition, danced along with him around the bleeding trunk of their murdered companion.

The king-prophet had one virtue which is frequently found in robbers and tyrants; this was courage: he defended Munster against its bishop, Waldeck, with intrepid bravery, for the space of a whole year;

1535 and, though reduced to the last extremities of famine, rejected all accommodation. At length he was taken fighting, by the treachery of his own people; but even in captivity he still retained his unshaken pride. The bishop demanding of him how he had the insolence to make himself king; this haughty prisoner demanded of him in his turn, by what right a bishop had the insolence to be a temporal lord. I was elected by my chapter, replied the bishop; and I by God himself, replied John of Leyden. The bishop, after having carried him about for some time from town to town, and shewn him as we shew a monster, caused his flesh to be torn off with red hot pincers. But the punishments inflicted upon the king and his followers

lowers did not suppress the enthusiasm of this sect. Their brethren in the Low Countries were very near surprising the city of Amsterdam: but the conspirators being discovered, were all put to death. The sect, however, still subsists, but entirely different from what it was in its first origin: the descendents of these bloody fanatics are the most peaceable of men, wholly employed in their manufactures and trade, and of an industrious and charitable disposition. So extraordinary a change is almost without example; but as they make no figure in the world, it is hardly thought worth while to enquire whether they are changed or not, nor whether they are wicked or virtuous.

C H A P. CXII.

OF GENEVA, and of CALVIN.

AS the Anabaptists deserved to have the alarm sounded against them from every part of Europe, the Protestants, on the contrary, gained the greatest commendation in the opinion of the people, by the manner in which they established their new religion in many places. The magistrates of Geneva ordered public disputations to be held during the 1535 whole month of June, to which they invited the Catholics and Protestants of all countries. Four senators committed to writing whatever was said of consequence for and against. After this, the great council of the city examined with the utmost care the result of these disputes. The assemblies of Zurich and Berne had acted much in the same manner, though not so juridically, nor with so much deliberation and ceremony. At length the council condemned the Romish religion; and this inscription is still to be seen in the town-house, graven on a brass table: "In remembrance of the divine goodness, which hath enabled us to shake off the yoke of antichrist, to abolish superstition, and to recover liberty."

Accordingly, the Genevans recovered their real liberty. The bishops, who, after the example of many other German prelates, disputed the right of sovereignty over Geneva with the duke of Savoy and the people, was obliged to fly, and leave the government to the citizens. There had for a long time been two parties in the city, the one Protestant, and the other Catholic. The Protestants called themselves Egnots, from the word *Eidgenossen*, allied by oath. The Egnots prevailing, gained over some of the opposite faction to their communion, and expelled the rest. From hence it came, that those of the reformed religion in France had the name of Egnots, or Huguenots, given them; an appellation for which the greater part of the French writers have since invented many idle origins.

This religion of the Genevans was not absolutely the same with that of the Swiss nation; but the difference was very trifling, and their communion has never sustained any injuries from it. The famous Calvin, whom we look upon as the apostle of Geneva, had no part in this change: he retired some time after to this city, but was at first excluded, because his doctrine did not at all agree with the established one: however, he returned back afterwards, and set himself up for the Protestant pope.

His true name was Chauvin: he was born at Noyon*, in the year 1509. He understood Latin and Greek, and was well versed in the wretched philosophy of his age. He was a better writer than Luther, but not so good a speaker: they were both of them laborious and austere, but rough and passionate; both full of ardour to signalize themselves, and gain that ascendant over the minds of others, which is so flattering to self-love, and which makes a kind of conqueror of a divine.

Those ignorant Catholics, who only know in general that Luther, Zuinglius, and Calvin, were each of them married, and that Luther permitted the landgrave of Hesse to have two wives, imagine that these first found-

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* A city of the Noyonnois in the isle of France, about 54 miles N. E. of Paris.

ers of the reformed religion worked themselves into the good opinion of the people by flattering insinuations, and that they freed mankind from a heavy yoke, to impose a very light one upon them; but the contrary is the truth. They were men of the most rigid manners, and all their words were dipt in gall. If they condemned celibacy in the priests, and set open the gates of the convents, it was only to turn all society into a convent. Shews and entertainments were expressly forbid by their religion; and for upwards of two hundred years there was not a single musical instrument allowed in the city of Geneva. They condemned auricular confession, but they enjoined a public one; and in Switzerland, Scotland, and Geneva, it was performed the same as penance. There has been no gaining mankind, at least hitherto, by proposing to them only the simple and the easy; the master who is most rigid, is always the most listened to. These reformers deprived men of their free-will, and every one flocked to them. Neither Luther, Calvin, nor any of the others, were agreed concerning the eucharist: one, as I have already observed, saw God in the bread and wine, in the same manner as fire in an heated iron; another like the pidgeon, in which the Holy Ghost is said to reside. At first Calvin had a dispute with such of the Genevans who communicated with leavened bread, as he was for having unleavened bread used. He took refuge in the city of Strasburg, for he could not return to France, where fires were already lighted up in every part; and Francis I. suffered the Protestants to be burned, while he was making an alliance with their brethren in Germany. Having married the widow of an Anabaptist at Strasbourg, he afterwards returned to Geneva, and took the sacrament with leavened bread, as others did; and soon acquired as great reputation in that city as Luther had done in Saxony.

Here he framed the tenets and discipline that are now observed by all those we call Calvinists in Holland, Switzerland, and England, and which have so long divided the minds of the people in France. He likewise established synods, consistories, and the office of deacon;

regulated the form of prayer and preaching; and even instituted a consistorial jurisdiction, that has a right of excommunication.

Calvin's religion is quite agreeable to a republican spirit; and yet he himself was of a tyrannical disposition.

We have an instance of this in the persecution he raised against Castalion *, a man of much greater learning than himself, whom he out of jealousy expelled from Geneva; and in the cruel death which he a long time afterwards caused to be inflicted upon the unfortunate Michael Servetus.

C H A P. CXIII.

Of CALVIN and SERVETUS.

MICHAEL Servetus, a learned physician of Villanueva in Arragon, merited the peaceable enjoyment of the reputation which was due to him for having, long before Hervey, discovered the circulation of the blood; but he neglected an useful art for dangerous knowledge. He wrote concerning Christ's prefiguration in the word, of the hypostasis, or personality of the word, of the beatific vision of the angelic substance, and a book *de manducatione superiori*. He partly adopted the antient tenets of Eusebius and Arius, which prevailed in the East, and were in the sixteenth century embraced by
Lelio

* Sebastin Castalion, or Castilion, was a regent in the college of Geneva, from whence he was exiled, because he maintained that the song of Solomon was an impure poem, and ought to be erased from the canon of the scripture. He was likewise accused of endeavouring to weaken the authority of the word of God, in affirming, in his annotations on the first epistle of the Corinthians, that St. Paul had taught those of his disciples who had attained to a high degree of perfection, a more sublime theology than that he left in his writings. Castalion was well versed in the dead languages, and made a Latin version of the Bible, which has been condemned for want of simplicity, and an affectation of classical latinity.

Lelio Socini, and afterwards received in Poland, England, and Holland.

He was of so open a disposition, that he wrote from Vienne in Dauphiny, where he lived for some time, to Calvin concerning the Trinity. They carried on their dispute by letters for some time; but Calvin from disputation proceeded to invectives, and from these to a theological hatred, which is of all others the most implacable. Calvin had treacherously procured some sheets of a work which Servetus was privately printing; these he sent to Lyons, together with the letters he had received from him, an action which is alone sufficient to disgrace him for ever with society; for that which is called the spirit of society, is infinitely more strict than all the synods in the world. Calvin caused Servetus to be accused by one of his emissaries. What a part for an apostle to act! Servetus, who was very sensible that in France every innovator was condemned without mercy to the stake, found means to make his escape, while they were preparing matters for his trial. Unfortunately for him he passed through Geneva in his way; which being known to Calvin, he informed against him, and caused him to be apprehended. But as the Genevans had a law, which ought to be imitated in all states, that the informer shall surrender himself prisoner, together with the person accused; Calvin caused the information to be given by one of his followers, who served him in the quality of a domestic.

When he saw his adversary in confinement, he loaded him with every kind of insult and vile treatment that base minds are wont to do, when they get the upper hand. At length, by continually pressing the judges to employ the credit of those he pointed out to them, and by proclaiming in person, and by his emissaries, that God demanded the execution of Michael Servetus, he had him burnt alive, and took a cruel pleasure in being a witness to his sufferings; he, who, if he had set a foot in France, would have been sent to the stake himself, and who had so loudly exclaimed against all persecution.

Our

Our indignation and pity must be still increased, when we consider that Servetus in the works he published, plainly acknowledged the eternal godhead of Christ; and that Calvin, in order to ruin him, had produced some private letters, written a long time before, by this unfortunate man to some of his friends, wherein he expressed himself somewhat too freely.

This deplorable catastrophe did not happen till the year 1555, twenty years after the council of Geneva had made its decree against the Romish religion: but I give it a place here, in order to furnish a better insight into the true character of Calvin, who afterwards became the apostle of Geneva, and of those of the reformed religion in France. But the most ample amends are now made to the ashes of Servetus. Several learned pastors among the English protestants, and even some of the greatest philosophers, have embraced his opinion, and that of Socinus: they have even gone farther than either of them: their religion consists in the adoration of one God, through the mediation of Jesus Christ. And here we only give a relation of facts and opinions, without entering into any controversy, or disputing against any person, reverencing what we ought to reverence, and confining ourselves wholly to historical fidelity.

The finishing stroke to this picture of Calvin may be found in a letter written with his own hand, which is still preserved in the castle of Bastie-Roland, near Montelimar: it is directed to the marquis de Poet, high chamberlain to the king of Navarre, and dated Sept. 30, 1561.

“Honour, glory, and riches, shall be the reward of your pains; but above all do not fail to rid the country of those zealous scoundrels who stir up the people to revolt against us. Such monsters should be exterminated, as I have exterminated Michael Servetus, the Spaniard.”

The faults of mankind are frequently allied to virtues. This harshness of Calvin's was joined to the greatest disinterestedness; for at his death the whole of his possessions was not worth more than one hundred and twenty gold crowns. His indefatigable application shortened his

his days; but it rendered his name famous, and procured him great reputation.

There are letters of Luther's, which breathe a turbulent and uncharitable a spirit as those of Calvin. The Catholics say, they cannot conceive how the Protestants could acknowledge such men as apostles: to which the Protestants reply, that they do not invoke as saints the authors of the reformation; that they are neither Lutherans, Zuinglians, nor Calvinists; that they profess to follow the doctrine of the primitive church; that they do not canonize the passions of Luther and Calvin; and that the ferocity of their characters ought no more to make against their tenets in the minds of Protestants, than the manners of Alexander VI. and Leo X. or the barbarities of certain persecutions, should prejudice the Romish religion in the minds of Catholics.

This is a truly prudent reply; and moderation seems at present to have taken place of the antient fury in both parties. Had the same spirit of bloodshed and cruelty always prevailed in religion, Europe would be only a vast burying-place. But the spirit of philosophy has at length blunted the edge of the sword, yet mankind were obliged to suffer two hundred years of mad cruelty, to arrive at these days of ease and tranquillity.

These commotions, which, by the events of war, restored so large a portion of the church possessions into secular hands, did not enrich the theologians who were the promoters of those wars. They had the fate of those who sound the charge, but do not partake of the spoils. The pastors of the Protestant churches had inveighed so loudly against the riches of the clergy, that they imposed a kind of law of decency upon themselves, which prevented them from accumulating what they had so much condemned; and almost every crowned head kept them strictly to the letter of this law. The Calvinist and Lutheran pastors have in most places had such provision made for them as is necessary for their support, without allowing of luxury. The revenues of the monasteries have been almost all of them placed in the hands of the government, and applied to the use of hospitals. The only rich bishoprics remaining in Germany,

many, whose possessions have not suffered diminution, are those of Lubeck and Osnabrug. You will see, in casting your eye over the sequel of these revolutions, the whimsical but pacific agreement in the treaty of Westphalia, by which this bishopric of Osnabrug is become alternately Lutheran and Catholic. The reformation has been more favourable to the clergy in England, than it has been to the Lutherans and Calvinists in Germany, Swisserland, and the Low Countries. In England the bishoprics are all very considerable; the livings afford a very handsome support; and the country curates there are much better provided for than they are in France. All the advantage reaped by the government and the laity was from the dissolution of the monasteries. There are several entire parishes in London, which were formerly only one convent, but are now peopled with several numerous families. In general, every nation where convents have been converted to the use of the public, has, humanly speaking, been considerable gainers, without any person being injured: in fact, nothing is taken from a society which no longer exists; and there was no injury done but to a few temporary possessors, who left no descendents behind them to complain of what they had been stript of. It was the injustice of a day, which has been productive of a benefit that will last for ages.

In the mean time, before this confusion could be properly reduced to order, the two parties of Lutherans and Catholics set all Germany in flames. The gospel religion, as it was called, was already (in the year 1555) established in twenty-four cities and eighteen small provinces of the empire. The Lutherans wanted to humble the power of Charles V. and he on his side pretended to root them out of the empire. Alliances were made, and battles fought on both sides; but here we must follow the changes wrought in the minds of men, with respect to religious affairs, and see in what manner the church of England was first established, and the schisms which happened in that of France.

C H A P. CXIV.

Of King HENRY VIII. and of the Change of Religion
in ENGLAND.

EVERY one knows that the separation between England and the see of Rome was caused by an amour of Henry VIII. What neither St. Peter's pence, nor the reservations and provisos, nor the annates, nor the levying of taxes, nor the sales of indulgences, nor five years of exactions, all of them constantly opposed by acts of parliament, and the murmurings of the people, could ever bring to pass, was produced at length, or at least was first occasioned by a sudden love fit; and this mighty monument of the papal power, which had been so long, and so furiously shaken by public hatred, was brought to the ground by the first stone which was flung against it.

Henry VIII. a man by nature sensual, violent, and obstinate in his desires, had, among many other mistresses, one named Anna Bullen, the daughter of a private gentleman of his kingdom. This young lady, whose free and spritely carriage seemed to promise very little resistance, had still the prudence not to yield entirely; by which she so inflamed the king's passion, that he resolved to make her his wife.

He had been married for above eighteen years to Catharine of Spain, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, and aunt to Charles V. who had brought him three children of which there was one still living; this was the princess Mary, afterwards queen of England. How then was he to procure a divorce, or annul his marriage with a person like queen Catharine, whom he could not reproach with harshness, ill conduct, nor even that morose humour which is so frequently found in women of strict virtue? This princess was first married to prince Arthur,
eldest

eldest son to Henry VII. who dying a few months after their nuptials, Henry procured a dispensation from pope Julius II. and made a contract of marriage between her and his second son, this Henry VIII. who, as soon as he came to the crown by his father's death, was solemnly espoused to her. A considerable time afterwards he had a bastard by one of his mistresses, named Blunt. But he then had only conceived a dislike to his marriage, and no scruples of conscience; but as soon as he fell so passionately in love with Anna Bullen, and found that he could not obtain her without marriage, he instantly began to feel a remorse of conscience, and shuddered to think how much he had offended God, by having lived eighteen years with Catharine as his wife. This prince, who still acknowledged the authority of the see of Rome, applied to Clement VII. to annul pope Julius' bull, and declare his marriage with Catharine of Spain, contrary to all laws divine and human.

Clement VII. the bastard son of Julian of Medicis, had lately seen the city of Rome sacked by the army of Charles V. and having but very lately made peace with this prince, he was still apprehensive that he would get him deposed, on account of his illegitimacy. He therefore could by no means think of declaring his aunt a concubine, and her children bastards, who had been so long acknowledged legitimate. Nor could he, as pope, own that his predecessor had no title to grant a dispensation. And, on the other hand, it would have been sapping the very foundation of the papal power, to acknowledge that there were any laws which the popes might not break through if they thought fit.

Lewis XII. had indeed caused his marriage to be dissolved; but his was a very different case from the present. Lewis had no children by his queen, and pope Alexander VI. who ordered this divorce, was connected in interest with that monarch.

Francis I. strongly supported Henry's cause at Rome, both as his brother-in-law and ally, and likewise as the enemy of Charles V. whose power was already grown formidable. The pope, thus pressed between the emperor and these two kings; and being, as he expressed
himself

himself in one of his letters, "between the hammer and anvil," had recourse to negotiations, delays, promises, and denials, in hopes that Henry's passion would not last so long as an Italian negotiation; but here he was deceived; and the English monarch, who unfortunately happened to be a theologian, made his divinity subservient to his passion. He and his doctors had recourse to the Levitical law, which forbids any one "To uncover the nakedness of his brother's wife, or to marry his wife's sister." The Christian states have long wanted, and still continue to want good positive laws. In their jurisprudence, which is yet barbarous in many respects, and composed of the antient customs of five hundred petty tyrants, they are frequently obliged to have recourse to the laws of the Romans and Hebrews, like a man who has wandered out of the road, and is enquiring his way. They search in the Jewish code for rules to direct the practice of their tribunals.

But if we are to follow the Jewish matrimonial law at all, we should follow it in every thing. We should condemn to death every one who draws near to his wife at certain seasons which happen to the female sex; in a word, we should obey a number of injunctions, which are not made either for our climates or our manners, and are even contradictory to the new law.

This, however, was the least of the many errors committed by those who pretended to judge concerning Henry's marriage, upon the principles of the Levitical law. They industriously concealed from themselves, that in Deuteronomy, one of those very books in which, according to our weak understandings, God sometimes appears to command contradictions, in order to exercise the obedience of mankind, a man is not only permitted, but even enjoined, to marry his brother's widow, in case she has no children; and that the widow had a right to summon her husband's brother to fulfil this law; and in case of a refusal, to loose his shoe from his foot, and throw it in his face.

It afforded an extraordinary and curious spectacle to behold the king of England, on one side, soliciting the several universities of Europe to be favourable to his passion,

passion, and the emperor, on the other, pressing them as warmly for their decision in favour of his aunt, and the king of France between both standing up for the Levitical law against that of Deuteronomy, in order to make the breach irreparable between Henry of England and Charles V. The emperor lavished benefices upon those Italian doctors who wrote for the validity of Catharine's marriage; and Henry paid those as bountifully who gave their opinions in his favour. Time has at length unveiled these mysteries; and in the accounts of one of the king's private agents, named Crook, we find the following articles: "To a Servetian monk one crown; to two other monks two crowns; to the prior of St. John fifteen crowns; to John Marino, the preacher, twenty crowns." By this we find that the price was different, according to the credit of the suffrage; and yet this purchaser of theological decisions, after he turned protestant, declared in defence of his proceedings, that he had never bought a single opinion, nor given any sum of money, till after the decree was signed. At length the universities of France, and particularly the Sorbonne, came to a resolution, that the marriage of Henry VIII.

with Catharine of Arragon was unlawful,

July 2. and that Julius had not power to dispense with the Levitical law.

Henry's agents went so far as to call in to their assistance the opinions of the Jewish rabbins; who acknowledged, that, by the Deuteronomical law, a man was commanded to marry his brother's widow; but, said they, this law related only to the country of Palestine, and it is the Levitical law which ought to be observed in England. The universities and rabbins of the Austrian territories were of a quite different opinion; these, however, were not consulted.

Henry, thus provided with decisions, which he had purchased at a reasonable rate, pressed by his mistress's importunities, wearied with the pope's continual subterfuges, encouraged by Francis I. and depending on the support and authority of the clergy and universities of his own kingdom, and absolute master of his parliament, caused his marriage to be annulled by Cranmer,
archbishop

archbishop of Canterbury. The queen, after having with becoming boldness and modesty maintained her just rights, and objected to the authority of the court in such a manner, as not to furnish any dangerous weapons against herself, retired from the capital, and left her bed and throne to her rival; and this favourite mistress, who was already advanced two months in her pregnancy, when she was declared a wife and a queen *, made her public entry into London with a pomp as much superior to the customary magnificence on those occasions, as her present exalted station was above her former fortunes.

Pope Clement VII. could not now avoid revenging the affront offered to Charles V. and the prerogatives of the holy see; and accordingly issued a bull against Henry VIII. This bull lost him the kingdom of England; for Henry, almost at the same time, got himself declared supreme head of the church of England by his clergy, and the parliament afterwards confirmed this title, and abolished the pope's authority throughout the kingdom, together with his annates, Peter's pence, and provisional grants. The nation cheerfully joined in taking a new oath to the king, called the oath of supremacy: and thus was the whole credit of the popes, which had lasted for so many centuries, overthrown as it were in an instant, and without contradiction, notwithstanding the desperate outcries of all the religious orders.

Those who pretended that no great kingdom could break with the pope without manifest danger, now saw, that a single blow was sufficient to overthrow this venerable colossus, whose head was of gold, and his feet of clay. In fact, the taxes which the court of Rome had so long imposed on the English, were founded only on that people's willingness to be laid under contribution; but

* It might be imagined from hence that Anna Bullen was with-child by Henry before she was married to him; but the contrary is truth, for they were wedded privately some months before her coronation.

but as soon as they resolved to be no longer so, it was found that a power founded only on force is nothing in itself.

The king made his parliament grant him the annates or first-fruits, which used to be collected by the popes. He created six new bishoprics, and ordered a visitation of all the convents in his name. In the accounts of this visitation, which are still to be seen, we find some scandalous excesses carefully exaggerated, some false miracles greatly multiplied, and some fictitious relics, which were said to have been made use of in several convents, to increase the devotion of the people, and bring in offerings. Several wooden figures were burnt in one of the market-places in London *, which it was

1535 said the monks made to move by means of springs.

But the people could not, without a mixture of horror and concern, behold the ashes of St. Thomas of Canterbury, whom the English nation still revered, committed to the flames, together with these instruments of pious fraud. The king appropriated the rich shrine in which they were contained, and which was curiously adorned with jewels, to his own use. If Henry with justice reproached the monks with their extortions, he gave them equal reason by his proceedings to charge him with rapine. All the convents were suppressed; and such of the religious, who, on account of their age, could not enter into the world again, had either places assigned for their retreat, or pensions allowed them. Their revenues were all placed in the king's hands: according to a calculation made by Burnet, they amounted to one million six hundred thousand pounds sterling; but this is exaggerating matters. The amount in effects and ready money was very considerable. With these spoils Henry

1536 founded and endowed six new bishoprics, and one college, bestowed large rewards on some of his servants, and converted the remainder to his own use.

This very prince, who had written so warmly in defence of the pope's authority, against Luther, became

now

* Smithfield.

now an irreconcilable enemy to the see of Rome. But the same zeal, which had instigated him to oppose so vehemently the opinions of that arch-heretic and reformer, still induced him to adhere to the doctrine, tho' he had changed the discipline of the Romish church.

He wanted to be the pope's rival, but without being either Lutheran or Sacramentarian. He still preserved the invocation of saints, but under certain restrictions. He ordered the holy scriptures to be read to the people in the vulgar tongue, but would go no farther. It was equally a crime to believe in the pope, and to be a Protestant; and he alike condemned to the flames, those who spoke in favour of the Roman pontiff, and those who declared for the reformed religion of Germany.

The famous lord chancellor More, and one bishop Fisher, were sentenced by the parliament, agreeable to the rigour of the late laws, to be beheaded, for refusing to take the oath of supremacy, which was, in other words, acknowledging Henry VIII. for pope of England; for Henry always made use of the sword of the law to cut off those who proved refractory.

Pope Paul III. who succeeded to Clement VII. thought to save Fisher's life by sending him a cardinal's hat, while matters were preparing for his trial; but in this he only gave Henry the satisfaction of bringing a cardinal to the block. The king afterwards set a price upon the head of cardinal Polus, or Pole, who had taken refuge at Rome, and inhumanly caused the mother of this prelate to be put to death by the hands of the executioner, without the least regard to her great age, or the royal stock from which she was descended. All this he did because they refused to acknowledge him as the English pope.

The king having understood, that there was at that time in London a learned Sacramentarian, called Lambert, resolved to have the glory of disputing with him before a grand assembly, summoned for that purpose at Westminster. The end of this disputation was, that the king gave his antagonist his choice, either to be of his opinion, or to be hanged. Lambert nobly made choice of the latter, and the king had the mean cruelty to order him

him to be executed. The English bishops, who were still Catholics, though they had renounced the jurisdiction of the pope, were animated with such a furious zeal against the heretics, that when they condemned any of them to be burnt, they granted forty days indulgence to every person who brought wood to build the pile.

All these massacres were carried on by acts of parliament; and this shew of justice, which is perhaps more detestable than the oppressive violence which defiles all laws, was in a great measure the means of preventing civil wars. There were insurrections in some of the counties, but London, awed by its fears, remained perfectly quiet.

Thus did Henry VIII. by his policy and severity, render himself absolute master of his people. His will became the sole law of the kingdom; and those nominal laws by which they judged between subject and subject, were so imperfect, that at that time a person was sentenced to death upon the deposition of a single witness; and it was not till the reign of Edward VI. that the English, following the example of other nations, enacted as a law, that no person should be condemned without the deposition of two witnesses.

Anna Bullen still enjoyed her triumph, under the protection of the king's authority. It is said that her ruin was secretly plotted by some of the friends of Rome, who hoped, that if they could bring about a separation between her and the king, the daughter of Catharine of Spain would succeed to the crown, and restore the religion which had been abolished in favour of this rival. The king, who was lately become enamoured of Jane Seymour, one of the queen's maids of honour, greedily received the reports brought him against his wife. He was violent in all his passions; and now, without blushing or hesitation, accused his consort of adultery before the house of peers. The parliament, which at that time was only the

1536 creature of the king's will, gave sentence against the queen; but upon such slight evidence, that if a private person was to part with his wife

on no stronger conviction of her guilt, he would pass for a very bad man. At the same time they condemned her brother to lose his head on pretence of having committed incest with her, though without the least proof. Two other persons were executed for having used some complimentary expressions to her, which might be spoken to any woman, and which the most virtuous queen might hear, when, in a gaiety of humour, she indulges the persons about her in the freedom of conversation: and a musician was likewise hanged, who had been prevailed upon to depose in court that he had partaken of her private favours, and who was never confronted with her. The letter, which the unfortunate queen wrote to her husband before she went to the scaffold, is a strong proof of her innocence and resolution: "Your majesty has ever loaded me with favours and dignities, says she; from a private woman you raised me to the rank of a marchioness, from a marchioness to be a queen; and now from a queen, you are this day pleased to make me a saint." In a word, Anna Bullen was sent from a throne to a scaffold by the jealousy of a husband who had no longer any affection for her. She was not the only one of twenty crowned heads, who had met with a tragical end in England, but she was the first who had fallen by the hands of the executioner. The tyrant (for I can give him no other name) caused himself to be divorced from his wife before he put her to death, and by that means declared his daughter Elizabeth a bastard, as he had before illegitimated his first daughter Mary.

The very next day after the queen's execution, he married Jane Seymour, who died the following year, after having brought him a son.

Henry soon contracted a new marriage with Anne of Cleves, of whom he became 1539 enamoured by a flattering picture, which the famous Hans Holbein had drawn for her. But when he saw her in person, he found her so different from her picture, that in six months after he resolved upon a third divorce. To bring this about, he told his clergy, that he had never consented in his heart to marry Anne
of

of Cleves. No one could have had the impudence to make use of such a reason, without being very sure, that those to whom it was offered would be mean enough to allow its validity. The bounds of justice and shame had been long broken through, and the clergy and parliament made no scruple of granting him a sentence of divorce; after which he married his fifth wife Catharine Howard, who was one of his own subjects. Any other person than Henry would have been weary of continually exposing the real or pretended infamy of his family; but he, on the contrary, being informed that the queen, before her marriage, had had

1542 several gallants, ordered her to be beheaded for past faults, which ought not to have been remembered, and which, at the time of their commission, did not merit so severe a punishment.

After being thus stained with the blood of two wives, and branded with the infamy of three divorcements, he caused a law to be passed, equally shameful, cruel, ridiculous, and impossible to be executed; which was, that any person being privy to the gallantry of the queen, and not making the same known, should incur the penalties of high treason; and that every woman about to be married to a king of England, not being a virgin, is bound to declare the same under pain of the like punishment.

It was said by way of jest on this act (if there could be any jesting in such a court) that the king ought to marry a widow; which he accordingly did, in the person of Catharine Parr, his sixth wife, who was very near experiencing the fate of Anna Bullen and Catharine Howard; not for any affair of gallantry, but for happening to differ sometimes from 1543 the king in matters of religion.

Some princes who have changed the religion of their kingdoms have become cruel and tyrannical, from the opposition and rebellion of their subjects: but Henry was cruel by nature, and a tyrant in his government, his religion, and his family. Yet this man died in his bed, and Henry VI. the most 1555
sweet

sweet tempered of all princes, was dethroned, imprisoned, and assassinated.

This king's last illness furnishes us with a singular instance of the power of the English laws, so long as they remain in force, and of the strict observance which has in all times been paid to the letter, rather than spirit of those laws. No person dared to acquaint Henry with his approaching end, because, a few years before, he had made the parliament pass a law, declaring it high treason in any one who should foretell the death of the king. This law, as cruel as it was absurd, could not be founded on the pretence of the troubles arising about the succession, since the succession had already been settled in favour of prince Edward; it was therefore only the effect of the tyrannical disposition of Henry VIII. his fear of death, and the general opinion which still prevailed concerning the art of knowing futurity.

C H A P. CIV.

Sequel of Affairs relating to RELIGION in ENGLAND.

DURING the reign of Edward VI. son to Henry VIII. and Jane Seymour, the English were protestants, because the sovereign and his counsel were such, and because the spirit of reformation had already begun to take root. The church of England was at that time partly Lutherans and partly Sacramentarians; but no one was persecuted on account of their belief, except two poor anabaptist women, whom archbishop Cranmer, a violent Lutheran, insisted upon having burnt, not foreseeing that he himself was one day to undergo the same fate. The young king refused for a long time to give his assent to the condemnation of these poor wretches; and when at length obliged to sign the warrant for their death, he shed a flood of tears. It was not sufficient to shed tears on such an occasion, he ought to have persisted in refusing to sign. But he was

VOL. III. L then

then only fourteen years of age, and could not be supposed to have any steady resolves either with respect to good or evil.

Those who at that time went under the denomination of anabaptists in England are the ancestors of the pacific quakers, whose religion has been the object of so much ridicule, while at the same time we cannot forbear having an esteem for their manners. These anabaptists differed widely in point of doctrine, and still more in conduct, from the German anabaptists, that uncivilized and brutal rabble, who, as we have already seen, carried the fury of wild fanaticism as far as it was possible for human nature to do, when left to itself. The English anabaptists had not yet any settled body of doctrine among them, as indeed no sect raised from among the common people can have, till after a length of time; but it is very extraordinary, that though they made a profession of being Christians, without the least pretence to any kind of philosophy, they were in fact no other than deists; for they owned Jesus Christ only as a man to whom God had been pleased to impart a greater portion of pure knowledge, than to the rest of mankind who lived at the same time. The most learned of them affirmed, that the term SON OF GOD signified no more with the Hebrews than a good, or virtuous man, as the son of Belial, or Satan, did a wicked man; and that most of the tenets which have been taken from the scriptures are philosophic subtleties, which have been made use of to cover plain and natural truths. They denied the history of the fall of man, the mystery of the Holy Trinity, and consequently that of the incarnation. They absolutely rejected the baptism of children, and conferred a new one upon adults; several of them even looked upon baptism as only an old eastern form of ablution adopted by the Jews, and afterwards revived by John the Baptist, and which was never put in practice by Christ upon any of his apostles. It was in this point that they principally resembled the quakers who have come after them; and this dislike to the baptism of children was the chief thing which procured them the appellation of anabaptists. They pretended

tended to adhere closely to the letter of the gospel, and thought that dying for their sect was dying for Christianity; and in this they differed essentially from the deists, or God-worshippers, who established their private opinions more than ever in the midst of so many public sects.

These latter, who were more attached to Plato than Jesus, and who were philosophers rather than Christians, being tired with the numberless and unhappy disputes about religion, somewhat too rashly rejected both divine revelation, which they found too much perverted by mankind, and human authority, which had been still more abused. They spread themselves throughout all Europe, and have increased in a surprising manner, without having formed themselves into either sect or society, or having ever rebelled against any power. This religion is the only one in the world that never had an assembly; very little has been written concerning it; it is peaceable, and has spread through every part without the help of communication. Formed originally of philosophers, who, by following the light of nature only, without instructing each other, have wandered in an uniform manner; from them it spread itself among the middling rank of people, who lead a life of ease consequent upon a limited fortune, and has since ascended to the great in all countries, but seldom has come down to the common people. England is, of all other countries in the world, that wherein this religion, or rather philosophy, has with time taken the deepest root, and spread the most universally. Here it has communicated itself even to the artificers and country people, and the inhabitants of this island are the only people who have begun to think for themselves; but the number of these country philosophers is very inconsiderable, and will always continue so; for hard labour and argumentation agree but ill together, and the common people in general neither make a good nor bad use of their understandings.

A fatal atheism also began to arise in most places in Europe from these theological divisions. It is said that there were a greater number of atheists in Italy at that

time than elsewhere. The Italian philosophers were not led into these excesses by the disputes about doctrine, but rather by those irregularities into which almost all the courts of Europe, and that of Rome likewise, were fallen. In reading the Italian writings of those times with attention, we may perceive in several of them, that the authors being too forcibly struck with the monstrous excess of wickedness of which they speak, refused to acknowledge a divine being who could permit such crimes, and thought in the same manner as Lucretius did in times of the like wretched kind. This pernicious opinion prevailed among the great both in England and France; but it was of short duration in Germany and the North, and there is no reason to apprehend that it will make any great progress: sound philosophy, morality, and the interests of society, have now in a manner exterminated it; but at that time it was kept alive by religious wars, when an enthusiastical multitude were led by atheistical chiefs.

Edward VI. died in the midst of these calamitous times, and on his death-bed declared his
 1553 cousin, lady Jane Grey, who was descended from Henry VII. heiress to his kingdom, in prejudice to his sister Mary, the daughter of Henry VIII. and Catharine of Spain. Jane was accordingly proclaimed in London; but Mary's right, assisted by a faction, got the ascendancy after a very slight contest. Mary then confined her rival in the Tower, together with the princess Elizabeth, who afterwards had so glorious a reign.

Much more blood was spilt on the scaffold than in the field upon this occasion. Jane Grey, her father, father-in-law, and husband, were all condemned to lose their heads. This was the second queen who had been publicly executed in England. She was only seventeen years of age, and had been compelled to accept the crown: every thing pleaded in her favour, and Mary ought to have dreaded a too frequent example of passing from the throne to the scaffold; but no consideration could stop her. This princess was as cruel as Henry VIII. and as cool and deliberate in her barbarities

rities as her father was rash and fiery. In a word she was a tyrant of another species.

Wholly devoted to the communion of the church of Rome, and still smarting with the sense of the indignity put upon her mother, she began by dint of art and bribery, to get together a parliament of catholics. The lords, who most of them knew no other religion than that of their sovereign, were easily won; and the same thing now happened in regard to religion which we have already seen happen in political matters, during the wars between the factions of the white and red rose. The parliament then alternately passed sentence against the houses of York and Lancaster. In the reign of Henry VIII. they persecuted the protestants; while Edward VI. was on the throne, they protected and encouraged them, and at Mary's command they condemned them to the stake. It has been frequently asked, why this dreadful punishment by fire is inflicted by Christians on those who happen to think differently from the established church, while the most atrocious crimes meet with a milder death? Bishop Burnet gives us this reason; that as it was the general belief that all heretics were condemned to be everlastingly burning in hell, tho' their bodies did not go thither before the resurrection, they thought to imitate the divine justice by delivering their bodies to the flames in this world.

Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, who had assisted Henry VIII. in his first divorce, 1553 was condemned to this horrid death, not so much for having been the instrument of that act, as for being a protestant. This prelate was weak enough to abjure his opinion: and Mary had the pleasure of sending him to the stake, after having brought infamy upon his character; but he resumed his courage in the midst of the flames, declared that he died a protestant, and did that in reality which we find only written, and that perhaps fictitiously, of Mutius Scævola. He thrust into the flames that hand which had signed his abjuration, and held it there till it was quite consumed; then sunk down into the fire and expired: an action to the full as intrepid, and infinitely more praise-worthy than

that which is attributed to Mutius. The Englishman punished himself for that which he thought a weakness in him, whereas the Roman did it only because he had failed in an intended assassination.

It is said that about eight hundred persons were burnt during Mary's reign. One woman, who was big with child, was delivered in the flames, and some of the spectators being moved with compassion, snatched the infant out of the fire, which the catholic judge ordered to be cast back again. In reading these abominable deeds, we can hardly think that we were born in a society of men, but rather amongst those beings which are represented to us in the midst of a gulph of torments, waiting in eager expectation to hurry mankind into them.

Among all those whom Mary's cruelty condemned to be burnt alive, not one was accused of rebellion against their lawful sovereign; they all suffered for religion: and while Jews were allowed to exercise their religion without interruption, and even indulged with privileges, Christians consigned their Fellow-Christians to the most shocking death, only for differing from them in certain articles!

Mary died in peace, but despised by her
 1559 husband Philip II. and her own subjects, who still upbraid her with the loss of Calais, and her memory will for ever be held in detestation by all who are not of a persecuting soul.

To catholic Mary succeeded the protestant queen Elizabeth. The parliament now became protestant again, together with the whole nation, which has ever since continued so. Religion was now fixed on a solid foundation; and the liturgy, which had been first begun in the reign of Edward VI. was established under the same form as it now subsists. The religion of the church of England consists, in general, of the Romish form of church government, with some fewer ceremonies than are used by the catholics, and some more than are practised by the Lutherans. It allows confession without enjoining it, and holds that God is in the Eucharist, though without transubstantiation. It was necessary in
 politics,

politics, that the crown should retain the supremacy : accordingly a woman became the head of the church.

This woman had more understanding, and a better mind than either her father Henry VIII. or her sister Mary. She avoided persecution as industriously as they had encouraged it. Having perceived at her first coming to the crown, that the preachers of both parties were the trumpets of discord in their pulpits, she issued an ordinance forbidding all preaching for the space of six months, without an express licence signed by herself, in order to prepare the way for a general harmony. This new precaution kept those within bounds who thought they had a right, and might possibly have the power of stirring up the people. No one suffered persecution, or was even called to account on the score of belief ; but those who acted against law, or raised commotions in the state, were severely dealt with, according to law. The great principle which was so long mistaken by mankind, was now firmly established in all minds in England, that it is the province of God alone to judge the hearts of those who offend him, and of men to suppress those who rebel against a government established by men. You will, in the course of this history, find what you ought to think of Elizabeth, and especially what idea you ought to form concerning the English nation.

C H A P. CXVI.

Of RELIGION in SCOTLAND.

THE troubles which beset religion in Scotland were reflected back upon it from England. It was about the year 1559, that certain Calvinists first insinuated themselves into the favour of the people, whom it is always necessary to gain in the first place. They are open and artless, and of their own accord take the bridle that is held out to them, till some powerful person

son comes, who seizes it and guides them as is most for his own advantage.

The catholic bishops were presently ready to condemn the few heretics who first appeared in the kingdom, to the flames; for this inhuman practice was as common in those days in Europe as it now is to hang a thief.

There happened at that time in Scotland what must necessarily happen in every country where there are the least remains of liberty. The sufferings of an old priest, whom the archbishop of St. Andrew's had condemned to be burnt, made a number of proselytes; and these making use of their liberty, boldly circulated

1559 their new tenets, and opposed the archbishop in his cruelties. Several of the Scotch nobility acted, during the minority of Mary Stewart, in the same manner as those of France did afterwards during the minority of Charles IX. By their ambition they added fresh fuel to the flames which had been lighted up by religion, and much blood was spilt, as it had been in other places on the like occasion. It would have been much better for the Scotch, who were then the poorest and most indolent people in Europe, to have applied themselves by labour and industry to till their barren and ungrateful soil, or at least to have procured that subsistence they stood in need of by fishing, than to have drenched their miserable country in blood for foreign opinions, and the interest of a few ambitious men among them; but they added this new misfortune to that of their natural indigence.

The queen regent, mother to Mary Stewart, 1559 thought to stifle the reformed religion in its infancy, by sending for troops over from France; but by this very step she confirmed the change she proposed to prevent. The parliament of Scotland, fired with indignation to see their country filled with foreign troops, obliged the regent to send them home, suppressed the Romish religion, and established the Genevan confession of faith throughout the kingdom.

Mary Stewart, who was widow to the French king Francis II. was a princess of weak talents, and seemed born only for love and gallantry: being obliged by
Catharine

Catharine de Medicis, who feared her beauty, to quit France and return to Scotland, she found only a wretched kingdom, rent in pieces by fanaticism. You will see in what manner she added to the miseries of her country by her own follies.

Calvinism has at length gained the entire ascendancy in Scotland, notwithstanding all the efforts of the Romish bishops then, and the bishops of the church of England since. It is now almost entirely suppressed in France; at least it is no longer tolerated there. Thus, since the sixteenth century, there has been one continued chain of revolutions in Scotland, England, Germany, Swisserland, Denmark, and France.

C H A P. CXVII.

Of RELIGION in FRANCE, during the Reign of FRANCIS I. and his Successors.

THE French were, ever since the time of Charles VII. looked upon at Rome as schismatics, on account of the pragmatic sanction made at Bourges, conformable to the council of Basil, which had so strenuously opposed the papal power. The chief object of this pragmatic sanction was the custom of elections among the clergy, a custom, which, in better times, had tended to the encouragement of virtue and sound doctrine, but had likewise proved the cause of numberless disputes. It was very pleasing to the people on these two accounts: to rigid minds it had the appearance of the remains of the primitive church, and the universities found in it a recompence for their labours. The popes, however, notwithstanding that this pragmatic sanction had suppressed the annates and other exactions of the see of Rome, still continued to receive them. We are informed by Fromentau, that in the seventeen years reign of Lewis XII. the popes had raised, in the diocese of Paris alone, the exorbitant sum of

three millions three hundred thousand livres of the current coin of those times.

When Francis I. in the year 1515, engaged in his Italian expeditions which were in the beginning as glorious as those of Charles VIII. and Lewis XII. and in the end proved still more unfortunate; pope Léo X. who at first opposed him, stood afterwards in need of his assistance, and became likewise necessary to him.

Chancellor Duprat, who was afterwards 1515 made cardinal, in conjunction with pope Leo's ministers drew up that famous concordate, by which, as it was said, the king and his holiness gave each other what neither of them had a right to. The king obtained the nomination of vacant benefices, and, by a private article, the first year's revenue was given to the pope, in consideration of his relinquishing his right of mandates, reservations, reversions, and forestalments, rights which the see of Rome had for a long time challenged. The pope, immediately after the signing the concordate, published a bull, in which he reserved the annates to his own use. On this occasion the university of Paris, which by this bull was deprived of one of its rights, assumed a privilege, which even an English parliament would not venture to pretend to, and published an ordinance prohibiting the printing of the king's concordate, or paying any obedience to it. And yet the universities were not ill used by this agreement between the king and the pope, since the third part of the benefices in the kingdom were left in their disposal, with a right of suing for them during four months of the year, viz. January, April, July, and October, which were called the graduates' months.

The clergy, especially those of the colleges, who were deprived of the right of nominating their bishops, murmured at it; but they were soon pacified by the hopes of obtaining benefices from the court. The parliament, who had no favours to expect from the court, maintained with unshaken firmness the ancient customs and liberties of the Gallican church, of which it was the defender, and respectfully opposed several letters of
 jussion;

justion; and, when at length compelled to register the concordate, entered a general protest that it was only done in obedience to the king's repeated commands.

But while the parliaments were thus remonstrating, and the universities complaining against this concordate they seemed to have forgot an essential service which Francis I. had done the nation by granting the annates to the pope. They had before his time been paid after an exorbitant rate, in the same manner as in England, and he lessened them. At present they do not amount to above four hundred thousand franks, one year with another, and these are gained again in trade; but at length it became the cry of the whole nation to pay no annates at all to Rome.

The first years succeeding the concordate proved very troublesome times in several dioceses; when the king named one bishop, the canons named another, and the parliament, in virtue of the writs of error, always decided in favour of the clergy. These disputes would have occasioned civil wars in the time of the feudal government. At length Francis took from the parliament the cognizance of affairs relating to bishoprics and abbeys, and transferred it to the great council of the kingdom. In time every thing became quiet, and the people were as much accustomed to the concordate, as if it had always subsisted; and the complaints of the parliament ceased entirely, when in 1558 the king obtained of pope Paul III. an indulto in behalf of the chancellors and members of the parliament, empowering them to do that in a less degree which the king does in a greater, namely, to confer benefices during their lives; and the matters of requests had the same privileges.

In all this affair, which occasioned so much uneasiness to Francis I. it was absolutely necessary for him to make himself obeyed, if he was desirous that Leo X. should fulfil his political engagements with him, and assist him in recovering the duchy of Milan.

It may easily be perceived, that the intimate connection which subsisted between them at that time, would not permit the king to let a religion he formed in his kingdom,

kingdom, which was repugnant to the interests of the papal see. The council was of opinion, that every innovation in religion brought after it innovations in the state. Politicians sometimes deceive themselves by judging from an example which strikes them. The council was right, if it had in view the troubles occasioned in Germany, which it helped to foment itself; and perhaps might on the other hand be wrong, if it considered the ease with which the kings of Sweden and Denmark had established the Lutheran religion in their dominions. It might have looked farther back, and seen more striking instances. The true religion had been introduced almost every where without any civil wars; in the Roman empire by an edict of Constantine's, in France by the will of king Clovis, in England by the example of a petty king of Kent, named Erhelbert, and in Poland and Hungary from the like causes. It was not much more than a century since the first of the Jagellonian race, who reigned in Poland, had embraced Christianity, and made all Lithuania and Samogitia do the same, without the antient Gepides having once murmured. And though the Saxons had been baptized in torrents of blood by Charlemagne, it was only because he wanted to subject, and not instruct them. If they had cast an eye on the whole continent of Asia, they would have seen a number of Mahometan states peopled with both Christians and idolaters, who lived in harmony together; a number of different religions established in India, China, and other places, without the force of arms; and if they had recurred to the first ages, they would have still met with the same examples. It is not that a new religion is dangerous or bloody in itself, but as the ambition of the great makes use of such religion to attack the established authority. Thus for instance, the Lutheran princes of Germany took up arms against the emperor, who was aiming at their destruction; but Francis I. and Henry II. had no princes nor nobles in their dominions, whom they had reason to stand in fear of.

The court, which became divided under the succeeding unhappy minorities, was perfectly united in its obedience

obedience to Francis I. Accordingly this prince only suffered the heretics to be persecuted, without being the author of their persecution himself. The bishops and the parliament lighted the fires, and he did not extinguish them.

He was very indifferent about religion himself; he made alliances with the protestants of Germany, and even with the Mahometants, to oppose Charles V. and when his allies the Lutheran princes of Germany, accused him with having put their brethren in France to death, who had been guilty of no disturbances in that kingdom, he threw the whole blame upon the common judges.

We have seen what horrible cruelties were exercised by the judges in England, under Henry VIII. and queen Mary. The French who are esteemed a more humane people, far surpassed them in the barbarities they committed under the name of religion and justice.

It is necessary to know, that in the twelfth century one Peter Waldo, a rich merchant of Lyons, whose devotion and errors are said to have given rise to the sect of the Vaudois, or Waldenses, having retired with some few poor people, whom he maintained by his charity, into the uncultivated and desert vallies which lie between Provence and Dauphiny, he officiated as father and pontiff to them; and instructed them in the tenets of his sect, which in several points resembled that of the Albigenses, of Wickliff, John Hus, Luther, and Zuinglius. These men, who lived a long time unknown to the rest of the world, employed themselves in tilling the barren lands they inhabited, and, by incredible labour, made them fit for corn and pasture; which plainly shews how much we deserve to be accused of negligence, if there remain any uncultivated lands in France. They purchased some inheritances in Cens and the parts adjacent, and by their industry gained a comfortable support for themselves, and enriched their lords, who never found the least reason to complain of them. In the space of two hundred and fifty years, their numbers increased to near eighteen thousand souls. They peopled thirty villages, exclusive of hamlets, and all this by the work of
their

their own hands. There were no priests amongst them, no disputes about worship, no law-suits, but decided all their differences amongst themselves. Those who went into the neighbouring cities, knew that there were such things as a mass, or bishops. They worshipped God in their own jargon, and their assiduous labour rendered their lives innocent. They lived in this happy and tranquil state for upwards of two centuries, which is to be attributed to their neighbours having been wearied out by the war against the Albigenes. When the human mind has been for a long succession of time hurried away to the last excess of rage and fury, it softens at length into forbearance and indifference: this may alike be observed in every individual, and in whole nations. These Vaudois were in the enjoyment of this peaceful calm when the reformers of Germany and Geneva learned that they had brethren in these parts; and immediately sent ministers among them, for so they called the curates of the protestant churches: and now the Vaudois came to be too well known. By the new edict against heretics they were condemned to the flames; and the parliament of Provence, in 1540, denounced this punishment against nineteen of the principal inhabitants of the village of Merindol at the same time ordering their woods to be destroyed and their houses razed to the ground. The Vaudois, struck with consternation, sent a deputation to cardinal Sadolet, bishop of Carpentras, who was then at his bishopric. This illustrious sage, who was a true philosopher, as being a humane man, received them with kindness and interceded in their behalf; upon which Langeai, the commandant in Piedmont, put a stop to the execution, and Francis I. granted them his pardon, on condition they would abjure their errors; but they could not be brought to renounce a religion they had imbibed from their earliest infancy. Their obstinacy exasperated the parliament of Provence, which was composed of men of a fiery zeal; and John Meynier d'Oppede, at that time its first president, who was more violent than the rest, continued the prosecution.

• The

The Vaudois at length revolted; this exasperated d'Oppede to such a degree, that he represented their fault in the blackest light to the king, and procured his permission to put the sentence in execution, after it had been suspended for upwards of five years. For this purpose it was necessary to have troops, which were accordingly sent for by d'Oppede and Guerin the advocate general. It was very clear that these poor people, whom the famous orator Maimbourg calls a rebellious mob, though they were somewhat too obstinate in adhering to their opinion, were not in the least disposed to revolt, since they did not offer to defend themselves, but fled on all sides, crying out for mercy; while the old men, women, and children, who could not fly so fast as the rest, were butchered without mercy by the soldiers.

D'Oppede and Guerin flew from village to village, killing all they met, burning their houses and granaries, and destroying all the standing corn and trees, and pursued the flying inhabitants by the light of the flames. There remained about sixty men and thirty women in the walled town of Cabrieres, who yielded upon promise of having their lives spared; but as soon as they surrendered themselves, they were all put to the sword: some women, who had taken refuge in a neighbouring church, were by d'Oppede's orders dragged from thence, and shut up in a barn, which was set on fire. Two and twenty villages were burnt to the ground; and after the flames were extinguished, the country, which before wore the face of plenty, and was so well inhabited, appeared a perfect desert, in which nothing was to be seen but dead bodies. The few who escaped took refuge about Piedmont. Francis I. was struck with horror on hearing of these cruelties. The sentence, which he had permitted to be executed, mentioned the death only of nineteen heretics, and d'Oppede and Guerin had caused thousands to be massacred. The king, on his death-bed, recommended to his son to see justice done on the authors of this barbarity, the like of which had never been committed by any civil magistrates.

Accordingly

Accordingly Henry II. gave his consent for the lords who had been ruined by the destruction of these villages, and the butchery of their people, to bring their complaints before the parliament of Paris. When the trial came on, d'Oppede had sufficient interest to get himself cleared, by throwing the whole blame upon the advocate general Guerin, whose single life was the only atonement made for the blood of so many hundreds.

These executions however did not stop the progress of Calvinism; one party employed fire and faggot, and the other diverted themselves with singing Marot's version of the psalms to ridiculous tunes, agreeable to the genius of the French nation, which is at all times light, and sometimes very cruel. Margaret queen of Navarre, and sister to Francis I. and all her court, were Calvinists, as was one half of the king's court. What had first begun among the common people had now communicated itself to the great, as is almost always the case. They preached in private, and they disputed publicly; and these disputes, about which no one at present either in court or city gives himself any concern, because they are now grown old, exasperated all minds at that time, because they were new. Even in the parliament of Paris itself, there were some members who were well-wishers to what was called the reformed religion. This assembly was always opposing the pretensions of the church of Rome, which this new heresy likewise aimed at overthrowing and the austere and republican spirit of some of the counsellors, led them to favour a sect, which, by the severity of its tenets, condemned the debaucheries of the court. Henry II. being displeased with the conduct of several of the members of this venerable

1554 body, came one day upon them unexpectedly in the great hall where they were sitting, at the very time that they were deliberating upon methods for moderating the persecution against the Huguenots, and ordered five counsellors to be put under arrest. One of these, named Anne du Bourg, who had spoken with the most freedom, signed his confession of faith in the Bastile, which was found to agree in many articles with that of the Calvinists and Lutherans. There was at this time

time an inquisitor in France, though the office of the inquisition itself, which has been always held in horror by the French, was not established. This inquisitor, whose name was Mouchi, together with the bishop of Paris and the commissaries of the parliament, tried and condemned du Bourg, notwithstanding the old established law, by which a member of parliament could only be tried by the courts of parliament assembled; a law which has always subsisted, been always claimed, and almost always proved useless; for nothing is more common in the history of France, than to find members of the parliament tried by other courts. Anne du Bourg then was executed in the reign of Francis II. The cardinal of Lorraine, who governed the state with 1559 a high hand, was resolved upon his death; and this priest and magistrate was hanged, and his body afterwards burnt in the place of the Grève. He was of a disposition rather too inflexible, but was an upright judge, and a man of approved virtue.

Martyrs make proselytes. The sufferings of such a man gained more converts to the reformed religion than all the writings of Calvin. A sixth part of the kingdom of France were Calvinists under Francis II. as one third of Germany at least were Lutherans under the emperor Charles V.

There was then only one choice left, which was, to follow the example of Charles V. who concluded his many wars by allowing his subjects liberty of conscience, or that of queen Elizabeth, who, while she protected the established religion, left every one to worship God agreeable to his own principles, provided due obedience was paid to the laws of the kingdom.

This is the practice at present in almost all those countries which were formerly laid waste by religious wars; a long and fatal experience having shewn it to be the most salutary method of governing.

But this method cannot be adopted unless the laws are firmly established, and the rage of faction has subsided. France was continually a prey to the most bloody factions, from the time of Francis II. till the glorious reign of Henry the Great. In these disastrous times the

the laws were little known, and the fanatic spirit which survived the furies of war, brought this monarch to an untimely end in the midst of profound peace, by the hand of a madman and a fool, who had made his escape from a cloister.

Having thus acquired a competent idea of the state of religion in Europe during the sixteenth century, it now remains to say something concerning the religious orders which opposed the new opinions, and of the inquisition, which laboured to exterminate all the protestants.

C H A P. CXVIII.

Of the RELIGIOUS ORDERS.

THE monastic life, which has done so much good and so much harm in the world, which has been one of the main props of the papal power, and which gave birth to the person who suppressed that very power in one half of Europe, merits our particular attention.

It has been believed by a number of protestants and others, that the several bodies of church militia, together with their different habits, ways of living, occupations, and rules, were all invented by the popes, as so many armies devoted to the service of the holy see, in all the states of Christendom. It is certain that the popes have often made use of them, but they did not invent them.

In the earliest ages of antiquity, there were among the eastern people certain men, who withdrew themselves from the world to live together in retirement. The Persians, Indians, and Egyptians especially, had several communities of Cenobites, or monks independent of those who were dedicated to the service of the altar, but among the Greeks and Romans there were none. Their colleges of priests were particularly set apart for the service of their temples, and a monastic life was wholly unknown to these people. The Jews had their Essenes

nians

nians and Therapeuts. The Christians have imitated them.

St. Basil *, in the beginning of the fourth century, instituted his order in a barbarous province, on the borders of the Black Sea ; and his rules were followed by all the eastern monks. He invented the three vows, to which all the recluse submitted. St. Benedict †, or St. Bennet, established his order in the sixth century, and was the patriarch of the western monks.

It was for a long time a consolation to mankind to find asylums open for the reception of those who were desirous of flying from the oppressive government of the Goths and Vandals. Almost every one who was not lord of a castle was then a slave ; the tranquillity of a cloister afforded a happy retreat from tyranny and war.

By

* St. Basil the Great was born at Cæsarea in Cappadocia, in the year 326. He was educated under the famous Libanius at Antioch and Constantinople, and finished his studies at Athens, where he contracted friendship with St. Gregory of Nazianzen, and Julian the Apostate. He afterwards visited the monasteries in Syria, Egypt, and Lybia, and became so enamoured of a monastic life, that he retired to a solitary place in the province of Pontus in Cappadocia. There being joined by his brothers and several friends, he composed the rules of an order, and was the first institutor of a monastic life in that country. In the sequel he was elected bishop of Cæsarea, and persecuted by the emperor Valens, because he would not communicate with Eudoxus, and embrace the doctrine of the Arians. He had many disputes about Arianism and the nature of the Hypostasis, composed a variety of works, and was, of all the Greek fathers, the most pure, sublime, and elegant writer.

† St. Benedict was born about the latter end of the fifth century, in the duchy of Spoleto in Italy, and studied at Rome. At the age of seventeen he retired to the desert of Sublaco, at the distance of forty miles from that city, and lived three years in a frightful cavern. He was afterwards elected abbot of a neighbouring monastery, but being disgusted with the manners of the monks, he once more retired to solitude, where he was in a little time joined by such a number of disciples, that he built twelve monasteries. Understanding there was a temple of Apollo on Monte Cassino, he went thither, converted the inhabitants, demolished the idol, built two chapels on the mountain, and laid the foundation of the famous monastery of Monte Cassino. There he composed his rule, and founded the order of the Benedictines, who in a little time spread themselves all over Europe.

By the feudal laws of the West indeed a slave could not be admitted a monk without the consent of his lord, but the convents had a method of eluding this law. The small remains of learning left among the barbarians were preserved in these convents. The Benedictine monks transcribed several books, and by degrees many useful inventions arose from the cloisters. Moreover, these religious communities employed themselves in cultivating the land, and singing the praises of the Deity; they lived a life of sobriety, they were hospitable to strangers, and by their examples, in some measure helped to soften the ferocity of those barbarous times; but a complaint was soon made, that riches had corrupted what virtue had instituted; a reformation then became necessary. Every age produced men in all countries, who, animated by the example of St. Bennet, were desirous of becoming founders of new congregations.

The spirit of ambition is almost always accompanied with enthusiasm, and imperceptibly mingles itself with the most rigid devotion. He who entered into the ancient order of St. Bennet became a subject; but he who founded a new institution raised to himself an empire. From hence arose the multitude of clerks, canons-regular, and religious of both sexes. Every one who attempted to found a new order was well received by the popes, because they all became immediately subject to the holy see, by throwing off as much as possible all subjection to their bishops. Most of these orders have generals residing at Rome, as in the centre of Christendom, who from this capital dispatch the orders they receive from the pontiff to all corners of the world.

In the beginning of the sixteenth century, almost all the states of Christendom were over-run by men, who were become aliens in their own country and subjects of the pope. Another great abuse, was that these immense families encreased at the expence of the human species. It is a certain truth, that before convents were suppressed in one half of Europe, they contained upwards of five hundred thousand persons. The country-places were depopulated, the settlements in the new world were destitute of inhabitants, and the scourge of war daily destroyed

stroyed a number of valuable lives. As it is the business of every wise ruler to encourage the increase of his subjects, it is doubtless acting contrary to that noble principle to countenance such a multitude of people of both sexes, who are lost to a state, and who bind themselves by oath to do all in their power for the destruction of the human species. It were to be wished, that some retreat was appointed for old age; but this so necessary institution is almost the only one which has not been attended to. Our cloisters are filled with those who are hardly arrived at the age of maturity, and who are allowed to part with their liberty for ever, at a time when, in other nations, they are not permitted to have the disposal of their own fortunes.

It cannot be denied that the convents have produced many instances of shining virtues. There are few monasteries which do not contain some noble minds, who do honour to human nature. Too many writers have taken a malicious pleasure in enumerating the dissolute manners and vices which have sometimes sullied the purity of these asylums of devotion. It is certain that the secular state abounds with many more instances of vice, and that the greatest crimes have not been committed in monasteries alone; but they are more remarkable there on account of their evident contradiction to the established rules. No state can have been always free from impurities; therefore we should here consider only the general good of society, and in this light we cannot but lament that so many noble talents have been buried, and so many virtues lost in retirement, which might have been useful to the world. The small number of convents at the beginning did great service. A few in proportion to each state would have been truly respectable; but by being over multiplied, they fell into contempt, inasmuch, that the priests who were at first equal with the bishops, are now in comparison to them the same as the common people are to princes.

In this great multitude of religious orders the Benedictines always held the first rank. Wholly taken up with their power and riches, they took no part in the scholastic disputes of the sixteenth century, and looked upon

upon the rest of the monks as the old nobility do upon the new. The monks of Cluni, Cîteaux, Clervaux, and several others, were branches of the original stock of St. Bennet, and in the time of Luther were known only by their great wealth. The rich abbeys of Germany lived quietly in the respective states, without intermeddling in controversy; and the Benedictines of Paris had not then employed their leisure hours in those learned enquiries, by which they have since gained so great reputation.

The Carmelites, who were transplanted into Europe from the Holy Land, in the fifth century, desired no more than to have it acknowledged that Elias was their founder.

The Carthusian order, which was instituted at Grenoble, towards the end of the eleventh century, and which was the only one of the ancient orders which did not stand in need of reformation, was a very small body, and though too rich indeed for men who had divorced themselves from the world, still continued, notwithstanding their wealth, in the strict observance of fasting, silence, prayer, and solitude. They led a life of tranquillity, amidst the general tumults which distracted the rest of the world, of which they hardly heard the rumour; and knew nothing of the mighty sovereigns of the earth but by name when they prayed for them. Happy would it have been if such pure and steady virtues could have been of any service to the world!

The Premonstratenses, or Norbertins, founded by St. Norbert* in the year 1120, made very little noise
in

* This saint was born in the duchy of Cleves, in the year 1082, son of the count de Gennep, and related to the emperor Henry V. who appointed him his almoner, or chaplain, and offered him the archbishopric of Cambray, which he refused. Tired of a court life, he resigned his benefices, sold his patrimony, and distributed his money to the poor; then he went teaching and preaching from place to place, until St. Bernard gave him a solitary valley, called Premontré, where he founded the order of canons regular. He was afterwards forced to accept the archbishopric of Magdeburg, and thither translated his canons, whose austere life
astonished

in the world, by which they were so much the more valuable.

The Franciscans, or Cordeliers, were the most numerous and stirring of any of the other orders. Francis d'Assisi †, who first founded this order in the year 1210, was esteemed by them as a man superior to all the rest of human kind. They compared him to Christ himself, and pretended that he performed many more miracles. He performed no inconsiderable one indeed in having founded this great order, which increased to such a degree, that, at a general chapter, which he held during his life-time at Assisi, in the year 1219, he saw five thousand deputies from the convents of his institution. And at this time, notwithstanding the prodigious number of convents which have been taken from them by the protestants they have still seven thousand houses for monks under different denominations, and above nine hundred convents for women. In some of their late chapters, they reckoned about one hundred and fifteen thousand men, and twenty-nine thousand women; an intolerable nuisance in countries where there is an evident decrease of the human species.

These men were violent in all their pursuits. They were preachers, divines, missionaries, mendicants, and spies. They traversed the globe from one end to the other, and were every where at open enmity with the Dominicans. Their chief theological dispute with these latter is concerning the birth of Christ's mother. The Dominicans affirm, that she was subject to the power of the devil, like the rest of mankind; and the Cordeliers

astonished the canons of that see, and had well nigh excited a rebellion against their founder.

† He was a native of Assisi in the ecclesiastical state, and bred up to business; but he renounced all property, made profession of evangelical poverty, retired to the woods, and subjected himself to such hideous mortifications, that his countrymen looked upon him as a lunatic: his father brought him back to his house and confined him; but finding him averse to any temporal employment, he carried him before the bishop, and there Francis stript himself naked. He founded his order in the year 1206, and by the whole tenour of his conduct appears to have been a miserable fanatic.

Cordeliers insist, that she was wholly exempt from original sin. The Dominicans rest their opinion on that of St. Thomas *; and the Franciscans hold their tenets to be the same with those of John Duns †, a Scotchman, improperly called Scotus, and known to his cotemporaries by the title of the Subtile Doctor.

The political disputes between these two orders arose from the prodigious credit and influence acquired by the Dominicans.

The latter of these orders, which was instituted some little time after that of the Franciscans, was inferior to these in numbers, but was much more powerful on account of the office of master of the pope's palace at Rome, which, ever since the time of St. Dominic ‡, their founder, has been appropriated to this order, and the office of inquisition, of which one of their fraternity is always president; and for a long time their generals had the sole nomination of all the inquisitors in Christendom. The popes, who have this nomination at present, always continue the meeting of this office in the convent of Minerva, which belongs to the Dominicans; and this order still appoints monks inquisitors to thirty tribunals in Italy, without reckoning those of Portugal and Spain.

As

* This was the famous St. Thomas d'Aquinas, descended from the counts d'Acquins. He was intitled, *the Angel of the School, the Angelical Doctor, and the Eagle of Theology*. His treatises on syllogism, sophism, and demonstration, contain an abridgement of the whole dialectic art of Aristotle; and have been deemed a complete body of logics.

† Jean Duns, alias Duns Scotus, born at the town of Duns in Scotland. He professed the order of St. Francis, and flourished in the beginning of the fourteenth century. For his profound knowledge, and the perspicuity with which he explained the greatest difficulties in philosophy and theology, he was denominated *Doctor Subtilis*, and piqued himself on opposing the opinions of St. Thomas. Hence arose the two sects of Scotists and Thomists.

‡ Dominique du Guzman was born a gentleman in Spain, with all the seeds of bigot-zeal and fanaticism, which produced the most shocking fruit of cruel persecution. He accompanied Simon de Montfort in his expedition against the Albigenses, among whom this Spanish fanatic exercised the most inhuman barbarities. Being appointed inquisitor in Languedoc, he there laid the foundation of his order, which pope Honorius approved in the year 1216.

As to the Augustins, they were originally a society of recluses, to whom pope Alexander IV. in 1254, gave a body of rules. Though the pope's sacristan was always chosen from their order, and that they had the sole right of preaching and selling indulgences, they were neither so numerous as the Franciscans, nor so powerful as the Dominicans; and are very little known at present in the secular world, otherwise than by having had Luther for one of their order.

I purposely pass over a great number of different communities, as this general plan will not allow me to make a review of every regiment in this monastical army. But the order of Jesuits, which was founded in Luther's time, demands a particular attention. The Christian world has exhausted itself in the praise and dispraise of this order, which has insinuated itself every where, and has every where had enemies. A great many people think that it owed its foundation to a stretch of politics; and that St. Ignatius designed by this institution to subject the consciences of all crowned heads to his order, to give it the mastery over the minds of the people, and form it into a kind of universal monarchy.

Ignatius de Loyola, however, was very far from having any such design; and indeed was never in a condition to form any such pretensions. He was a private gentleman of Biscay, a man of no learning, but born with a romanic turn, fond of books of chivalry, and greatly addicted to enthusiasm. He served as a soldier in the troops of Spain, at the time that the French, who vainly attempted to recover Navarre out of the hands of its usurpers, were besieging the castle of Pampeluna in 1521. Ignatius, who was then about thirty years of age, was one of those who defended that castle, and was wounded in the assault. A book of the lives of the saints which had been given him to read when he was upon recovery, and a vision which he fancied he saw, determined him to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. From that time he devoted himself to the mortification of his appetites and passions; and it is reported that he passed seven days, and as many nights, without tasting meat or drink; a thing which is hardly credible, but shews a

weak imagination, and a very robust constitution. Ignorant as he was, he went about preaching through all the villages. Every one knows the rest of his adventures, that he watched his arms all night, caused himself to be dubbed the Virgin Mary's knight, offered combat to a Moor who had spoken disrespectfully of this lady whom he served, and left it to his horse to decide the affair, who took a different road from the Moor's steed. After this he resolved to go and preach the gospel among the Turks, and was got as far as Venice on his way, when reflecting that he could not speak Latin, a tongue which, by the way, was of very little service among the Turks, he returned at the age of thirty-three, and put himself to school at Salamanca.

Being imprisoned by the inquisition for having taken the direction of consciences, and making pilgrims, upon recovering his liberty, he went to finish his studies at Paris, where he fell into company with some of his own nation, (Spaniards,) who were, like himself, poor and destitute of any settled habitation. They joined company, and repaired to Rome in the year 1537, where they presented themselves to pope Paul III. in the character of pilgrims, who were desirous of making a journey to Jerusalem, in order to form a private community. Ignatius and his companions were men of some merit, wholly disinterested, self-denying, and full of zeal. We must acknowledge that Ignatius himself was fired with the ambition of becoming the head of an order. This species of vanity, in which the ambition of commanding had a great share, became strongly rooted in a heart which had made a sacrifice of all its other passions, and operated the more powerfully as it was connected with some virtues. If Ignatius had not had this passion, he would have followed the example of his companions, and entered into the order of the Theatins, which had been lately founded by cardinal Cajetan. But the good cardinal in vain solicited him to become a member of his community; the desire of being a founder himself prevented him from entering into any other order.

The travelling to Jerusalem being at that time attended with great danger, Ignatius found himself obliged to remain in Europe. Having learnt a little of the grammar,

mar, he applied himself to the teaching it to children. His disciples seconded his design with great success: but this very success proved the source of many troubles: the jesuits met with formidable rivals in the universities, where they were received; and the towns where they taught, taking part with the universities, became the theatres of numberless divisions.

But if the desire of instructing, which charity dictated to this founder, was productive of many fatal events, on the other hand his humility and that of his followers, who would never accept of any church-dignities, was the means of raising his order to its present pitch of greatness. Most crowned heads chose jesuits for their confessors, that they might not be obliged to purchase absolution with a bishopric; and the place of confessor has frequently been found of more importance than a bishop's see. It is a private office whose power increases in proportion to the prince's weakness.

At length Ignatius and his followers, who found great difficulty in procuring a bull from the pope for the establishment of their order, were advised to add to the three common vows, a particular one of obedience to the pope; and this fourth it was which afterwards gave rise to those missionaries who carry the religion and glory of the supreme pontiff to the farther extremities of the world. Thus did a person, the least versed in politics of any of his time, give birth to the most political of all monastic orders. In matters of religion, enthusiasm always lays the first stone; but art completes the building.

We have since seen the Jesuits holding the reins of government in most courts in Europe, raising a great name by their learning, and the education of youth; going to China to new-model the sciences, converting Japan for a time to Christianity, and giving laws to the people of Paraguay. There are at present upwards of eighteen thousand of this order in the world, all subject to one perpetual and absolute general, and preserved in union with each other, solely by that obedience which they have vowed to a single person. Their government is become the model for an universal monarchy. Some of their convents are very poor, and others very rich.

Don John de Palafox, bishop of Mexico, wrote thus to pope Innocent X. about one hundred years after the first institution of this order. "I have found almost all the riches of these provinces in the hands of the Jesuits. They have two colleges, which are in possession of three hundred thousand sheep, six large sugar works, of which some are worth near a million of crowns, and several very rich silver mines, so considerable that they might suffice a prince superior to all the sovereigns of the earth." These complains may seem exaggerated, but were certainly founded in truth.

This order met with great obstacles before it could establish itself in France, and nothing less could be expected. It had taken its rise and grew considerable under the house of Austria, by whom it was still protected. The Jesuits, in the time of the league, were pensioners to Philip II. The other religious orders, who all of them took a part in these troubles, except the Benedictines and Carthusians, fed the fuel of discord only in France: but the Jesuits blew the coals from their seminaries in Rome, Madrid, and Brussels, even to the heart of Paris, which a succession of happier times afterwards extinguished.

Nothing can appear more contradictory than the public odium with which these people have been loaded, and the confidence they have acquired: that spirit which has banished them from almost every country, and restored them again with glory; the prodigious number of their enemies, and the esteem of the people. But we have met with instances of the same contradiction in the mendicant orders. In all numerous societies devoted to religion and the sciences, there are always some turbulent and fiery spirits, which make themselves enemies, and others, who by their learning acquire reputation. Some, who by their insinuating behaviour, raise parties and factions, and others, who by a sound policy make advantage of the genius and labour of the others.

The fathers of the oratory in France are a new order entirely different from any of the rest. Their community is the only one which makes no vows, and where
repentance

repentance never enters. Their retreat is always voluntary. The rich live at their own expence, the poor are supported by the order. They enjoy a freedom becoming men, and with them virtue is never disgraced by superstition or meanness.

There is a powerful emulation between these several orders, which has frequently broke out in a furious jealousy. The hatred between the white and the black friars *, continued with the utmost fury for several ages. These two orders were naturally enemies to each other, as has been elsewhere observed. Each order seemed to rally under a different standard: what is called the spirit of the community inspired all societies.

Those orders which were devoted to the relief of the poor, and the service of the sick, have always been of the least note, though not the least esteemed. What can be more noble in the world than the sacrifice made by the tender sex, of their youth and beauty on these occasions; who, though frequently of the most distinguished birth, stoop to do the meanest offices in the hospitals, for a number of miserable wretches, whose appearance is mortifying to human pride, and shocking to delicacy? Those who have separated themselves from the communion of the church of Rome, have but faintly imitated this noble and generous charity.

This useful community is however very small. There is another community of a more heroic kind; for so I think we may term the order of Trinitarians, for the redemption of captives, which was instituted in the year 1120, by a gentleman named John de Matha. These monks have devoted themselves for five centuries past to the releasing of christian slaves from the fetters of the Moors, and pay for their ransoms out of the revenues of their order, and the alms they receive, which they gather themselves, and carry in person into Africa.

No one can complain of an institution of this kind; but it is a general complaint, that the monastic life has deprived society of too many of its members. The

M 3

nuns

* The Dominicans and Franciscans.

nuns in particular are all of them dead to their country, and the tombs they inhabit during their lives are in general very poor. A young woman who gains her livelihood by working with her needle, earns much more than is laid out upon the maintenance of a nun. In short, their fate might claim our pity, if the number of convents of men who are immensely rich could raise our envy. But it is evident that their great numbers would depopulate the state; for this reason the Jews never had any female *Essenii* or *Therapeutes*. There is no one retreat set apart for virginity in all Asia; and the Chinese and Japanese alone have female bonzes: but who knows whether these are absolutely useless in their generation? There were never more than six vestals in ancient Rome, and these were allowed to quit their retreat and marry after a stated time.

Policy seems to require that a necessary number only should be set apart for the service of the altar, and the other purposes relating to it. In England, Scotland, and Ireland, there are not above twenty thousand clergy. In Holland, which contains two millions of inhabitants, there are not a thousand; and again these persons thus consecrated to the service of the church, being almost all of them married, help to furnish their country with subjects, whom they bring up in a virtuous and prudent manner.

In the year 1700, the number of clergy in France, both secular and regular, was reckoned to amount to two hundred and fifty thousand, which far exceeds the ordinary number of soldiers. The clergy in the ecclesiastical state made a body of thirty-two thousand, and the monks and young women confined in convents, amounted to near eight thousand. Of all the catholic states, this is the one in which the number of secular clergy exceeds the most those of the monks; but it is a certain means of being always weak, to maintain forty thousand churchmen, and only ten thousand soldiers.

There are more convents in France than in all Italy together. The number of both sexes shut up in convents in this kingdom, at the beginning of the present century amounted to upwards of ninety thousand. In

Spain

Spain there are not above fifty thousand, if we rely upon the account taken by Gonfales de Avila, in the year 1623: but then this country is not above half so populous as France; and after the expulsion of the Jews and Moors, and the transplanting of so many Spanish families into America, it must be allowed that the number of convents in Spain form a kind of mortality, which insensibly destroys the nation.

In Portugal there are somewhat more than ten thousand religious of both sexes. This country is nearly of the same extent with the ecclesiastical state, and yet the number of those who inhabit the cloisters there are in a greater proportion.

It has been proposed in almost every kingdom to restore to the state a part of the members which it is deprived of by monasteries. But those who have the management of the administration, are seldom affected by a distant prospect of utility, however obvious, especially when this future advantage is balanced by a present difficulty.

The religious orders are likewise all of them against such an alteration. Every superior who finds himself at the head of a little state is desirous of encreasing the number of his subjects; and frequently a monk, tho' heartily tired of the confinement of a cloister, has still the imaginary good of his order at heart, in preference to the real good of his country.

C H A P. CXIX.

Of the INQUISITION.

AS a militia of five hundred thousand monks fighting for the word, under the standard of Rome, could not prevent one half of Europe from throwing off the yoke of that see, neither was the inquisition of any other service than to make the pope lose the seven United Provinces, and to sentence a number of unhappy wretches to the flames to no purpose.

We may remember that this tribunal, which pretends to a right of judging the thoughts of men, was first erected by pope Innocent III. in the year 1200, during the war against the Albigenses; and that without paying the least regard to the bishops, who are the only proper judges in trials of doctrine, it was intrusted to the management of a few Dominicans and Cordeliers †.

These first inquisitors had the power of summoning all heretics before them, of pronouncing the sentence of excommunication, of granting indulgences to every prince who should do his endeavours to destroy such as they condemned, of receiving penitents again into the church, and laying such taxes upon them as they pleased, and of requiring from them a certain sum in money, as a pledge for the sincerity of their repentance.

By the caprice of events, which throws so many contradictions into human politics, it happened that the most violent enemy the popes ever had, proved the most strenuous protector of this tribunal.

The emperor Frederic II. whom the pope had sometimes accused of being a Mahometan, and at others of atheism, thought to clear himself of this reproach, by taking the inquisition under his protection; and in the year 1244 published four edicts at Pavia, by which he commanded the secular judges to deliver up to the flames all such as should be condemned by the office of inquisition, as obstinate heretics; and imprison for life those whom it should declare penitent.

But this stroke of policy in Frederic did not secure him the more from persecution; and the popes have since made use of these very arms he furnished them with to attack the rights of the empire.

In 1225, pope Alexander III. established the inquisition in France, during the reign of St. Lewis. The father guardian of the Franciscan order at Paris, and the provincial of the Dominicans were appointed chief inquisitors. Agreeable to Alexander's bull, they were to consult the bishops before they passed sentence; but they

* See Chap. I. Vol. i.

they shewed no regard to this injunction. So extraordinary a juridical power given to men who had made a vow of retiring from the world, filled both clergy and laity with indignation. A Franciscan inquisitor assisted at the trial of the knights templars; but the general dislike which people of all ranks shewed to these monks, soon reduced their power to an empty name.

In Italy the popes had more credit, because though their authority was despised in Rome, and they themselves for a long time banished from thence, they were still at the head of the Guelph faction, against that of the Gibellines; and they made use of the inquisition against the partizans of the empire: for in 1302, pope John XXII. caused Matthew Visconti, lord of Milan, to be arraigned before the monks of the inquisition, for no other crime than his attachment to the emperor Lewis of Bavaria. The fidelity of a vassal to his lord paramount was declared heresy. The houses of Este and Malatesta were proceeded against in the same manner, and for the same cause; and if punishment did not follow sentence, it was only because the pope found it easier to get inquisitors than to raise armies.

As this tribunal grew more powerful, the bishops were more strenuous in reclaiming those rights which properly belonged to them, and which this office had deprived them of. The popes sided with the inquisitors, who exercised their authority in all its latitude in almost all the states of Italy, while the bishops were no other than their assistants.

Towards the end of the thirteenth century, viz. in 1289, the inquisition was received in Venice; but as in all other places it is dependent only on the pope, in Venice it was subject to the senate, who had the wise precaution to take from the inquisitors the fines and confiscations. It thought to moderate their zeal by taking from them the temptation of enriching themselves by their sentences: but as the ambition of exercising the power of office is frequently as prevalent a passion in the human mind as avarice itself, the inquisitors went such lengths, that the senate, a considerable time afterwards, viz. in the sixteenth century, ordered, that for the fu-

ture, the inquisition should never proceed to trial without three senators being present. By this and several other political regulations, the authority of this tribunal was reduced to nothing in Venice, purely by being eluded.

A kingdom where it should seem that the inquisition would have established itself with most ease, and with the greatest power, was the very one where it could never gain admittance; I mean the kingdom of Naples. The sovereigns of this state, and those of Sicily, looked upon themselves intitled, in virtue of the concessions made to them by the popes, to execute ecclesiastical jurisdiction within their own territories; and there being always a dispute between the king and the pope about the nomination of the inquisitors, there were none appointed; and for this one time the people were benefited by the quarrels of their masters. There were, however, fewer heretics in Naples and Sicily than elsewhere. This peaceful state of the church in those kingdoms may serve to shew that the inquisition was not so much the bulwark of the true faith, as a scourge invented for the torment of mankind.

It was afterwards admitted into Sicily, after having been received in Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella in the year 1478; but in this island, still more than in Castile, it was a prerogative appertaining to the crown, rather than a Romish tribunal; for in Sicily the king is pope.

It had been a long time settled in Arragon; but there, as well as in France, its power was very weak and circumscribed; and it remained as it were in oblivion without functions and without order.

It was not till after the conquest of Granada that this tribunal displayed its power in Spain, and exercised its functions with an authority and rigour that had never been practised by any of the other courts of justice. The Spaniards at that time must certainly have had something more austere and merciless in their disposition than any other people whatever; witness the studied cruelties they practised upon the inhabitants of the new world they had discovered, and the excessive barbarities they committed in the exercise of a jurisdiction which the
Italians,

Italians, who were the first projectors, carried on with much greater lenity. The popes erected this tribunal with a political view, and the Spanish inquisitors added cruelty to it.

Mahomet II. after having subdued Constantinople and Greece, suffered the vanquished to follow their religion in peace; his successors did the same: and the Arabians, while they were masters of Spain, had never compelled the Christian inhabitants to embrace the Mahometan religion. But after the taking of Granada, cardinal Ximenes was resolved that all the Moors should become Christians, either through a motive of zeal, or from the ambition of adding a new set of subjects to the primacy. This attempt was a direct violation of the treaty upon which the Moors had surrendered themselves, and therefore it required time to bring it to bear. But Ximenes wanted to convert the Moors in as short a time as his sovereign had taken Granada. Accordingly they were preached to, they were persecuted, they revolted, were subdued, and at length obliged to receive baptism; and Ximenes gave to fifty thousand of 1499 them the mark of religion, in which not one of them believed.

The Jews, who were included in the treaty made with the king of Granada, experienced no greater indulgence than the Moors had done. There were great numbers of this people then in Spain, who were there, as they are every where, the brokers in trade; a profession which is so far from producing a spirit of sedition, that it can subsist only among those of a pacific disposition. There are above twenty eight thousand Jews, now licensed by the pope in Italy, and near two hundred and eight synagogues in the kingdom of Poland. The city of Amsterdamm only contains about fifteen thousand; though every one must allow that it can carry on its trade without them. In short, the Jews were not more dangerous in Spain; and the taxes which might have been laid upon them would have furnished the government with certain resources. It is therefore very difficult to reconcile the persecution raised against them with the rules of sound policy.

The

The inquisition proceeded against them as well as the Moors. We have already remarked that a great number of Jewish Mahometan families chose rather to quit Spain than be subject to the severity of this tribunal, by which Ferdinand and Isabella lost many valuable subjects; since those were certainly the least to be feared of their sect who preferred flight to rebellion. Those who remained behind pretended to become Christians; but the chief inquisitor, Torquemada, represented these feigned proselytes to the queen Isabella as persons whose estates ought to be confiscated, and their lives taken away.

This Torquemada, who was a dominican friar, and had been lately made a cardinal, first gave the Spanish inquisition that juridical form, so repugnant to all the laws of humanity, which it has ever since retained. In the space of fourteen years he tried near eighty thousand persons, and burnt six thousand, with all the parade and ceremony of the most august festival. What we read concerning the nations who sacrificed human victims to their deity, are nothing in comparison with these executions, which were accompanied with all the ceremonies of religion. The Spaniards were not at first sufficiently struck with horror at these cruelties, because only their antient enemies, the Jews, were the sufferers; but in a short time they themselves proved the victims: for when Lutheranism began to make a noise, the few natives who were suspected of favouring it were sacrificed without mercy.

The very form of these trials afford an infallible means of destroying whomsoever the judges pleased. The accused is never confronted with his accuser; and the greatest encouragement is given to every one who will inform against another. A public criminal branded by the law, a child, or a prostitute, are esteemed serious accusers. The son may be an evidence against his father, and a wife against her husband. In short, the accused person is obliged to give evidence against himself, and to guess and acknowledge the crime imputed to him, of which he is frequently ignorant.

So

So unheard-of a proceeding made all Spain tremble. A general distrust took possession of all minds; there was no longer any friendship nor society. One brother stood in fear of another, and the father suspected his son. From hence taciturnity became the character of a people who were born with all the vivacity which a warm and fruitful climate could inspire. Those of the common people who had most cunning, strove to be bailiffs to the inquisition, under the title of familiars, chusing rather to be its attendants than stand in danger of its censures.

We may likewise attribute, as an effect of this dreadful tribunal, that profound ignorance of sound philosophy in which most of the Spaniards are still immersed, while the people of Germany, England, France, and even Italy itself, have brought to light so many important truths, and enlarged the sphere of our knowledge. Human nature is never so debased as when ignorance is armed with power.

But these effects of the inquisition, melancholy as they are, are but trifling in comparison with those public sacrifices, known by the name of *Auto de fé*, or acts of faith, and the horrors by which they are preceded.

A priest clad in his surplice, and a monk who has made a vow of meekness and humility, attend in vast subterraneous dungeons to see their fellow-creatures put to the most excruciating tortures. After this a stage is erected in a public place, whither all the condemned are led to the stake, attended with a train of monks and friars, who sing psalms, perform a mass, and murder their fellow-creatures. An inhabitant of Asia, who should chance to arrive at Madrid the day of such an execution, would not be able to determine whether it was a rejoicing, a religious ceremony, a sacrifice, or a butchery; and it is indeed all these together. The kings, whose presence alone is in other nations sufficient to confer pardon on a criminal, assist bare-headed at this spectacle, on a seat somewhat lower than that of the inquisitors, and behold their subjects expiring in the flames. Montezuma has been reproached with sacrificing the captives taken in war to his Gods; but what would you have said had he been spectator of an *Auto de fé*?

These

These executions are now become less frequent than heretofore. But as reason cannot without great difficulty penetrate where fanaticism is established, it has not yet been able to suppress them entirely.

The inquisition was not yet introduced into Portugal till the year 1557, when that country was no longer under the Spanish dominion. At first it met with all the resistance which its very name was sufficient to produce; but at length it was established with the same power as at Madrid. The chief inquisitor is nominated by the king, and confirmed by the pope. The private tribunals of this office, which has the title of Holy given it, are subject in Spain and Portugal to the tribunal of the capital. The inquisition observed the same severity in both these states, and the same assiduity in signalizing their power.

In Spain, after the death of Charles V. it had the boldness to arraign and try Constantine Pontius, that emperor's confessor who ended his days in the dungeon. After his death he was burnt in effigy at an *Auto de fé*.

John de Braganza having delivered his country, Portugal, from the Spanish yoke, was desirous likewise of freeing it from the inquisition: but all he could do was to deprive the inquisitors of their right to confiscations. In return, they declared him excommunicated after his death; and his queen was obliged to solicit absolution for his dead body, which was equally ridiculous and absurd: for this absolution was in fact declaring him to have been culpable.

When the Spaniards settled in America, they carried the inquisition over with them; and the Portuguese introduced it into the East Indies, immediately after it was established by authority in Lisbon.

Every one has heard of the inquisition at Goa. As in other countries it is a restraint upon the rights of nature, in Goa it is directly contrary to policy; for the Portuguese are settled in the Indies only for the sake of trade. Now commerce and the inquisition are two things which appear incompatible. Had it been admitted in London or Amsterdam, those cities would neither have been so well peopled nor so opulent. Accordingly, when
Philip

Philip II. attempted to introduce it into the provinces of the Low Countries, the stop which was put to trade proved one of the principal causes of the revolution. France and Germany have fortunately been preserved from this scourge. These countries have experienced all the horrors of war, on account of religion; at length these wars are at an end, but the inquisition once established is of eternal duration.

It is not to be wondered at, that a tribunal which is so universally detested, should be accused of excesses of cruelty and insolence, which it never committed. We read in a number of books, that Constantine Pontius, Charles the fifth's confessor, was accused to the holy office of having dictated the emperor's will, in which there did not appear to be a sufficient number of pious legacies; and that the confessor and the will were both of them condemned to be burnt; and at length, that Philip II. could with great difficulty prevent the sentence from being executed upon the will. This whole story is manifestly false. Constantine Pontius had not been Charles's confessor for a long time before he was imprisoned, and that monarch's will was held in great esteem by Philip, who was a prince of too great abilities and power to suffer such a disgrace to be thrown upon the beginning of his reign and his father's character.

We likewise find in several authors who have written against the inquisition, that Philip III. king of Spain, being present at an *Auto de fé*, and seeing several people burnt for Jews, Mahometans, and heretics, or suspected of being such, cried out, "These people are very unhappy, to suffer death because they could not change their opinions." It is very probable that a king might think in this manner, and that some such words might have escaped him. It is only very cruel that he would not save those whose fate he lamented. But it is farther added, that the chief inquisitors remembering these words, imputed them as a crime to the king, and had the abominable impudence to demand reparation for them, which the king was mean enough to agree to; and that this reparation, made to the honour of the holy office, consisted in having blood drawn from some part of his body, which

which the chief inquisitor ordered to be burnt by the hands of the executioner. Philip III. though a prince of a narrow understanding, was not so egregiously weak as to submit to such treatment; nor is a story of this nature to be believed concerning any prince: it is found only in books of no authority, in a picture of the popes, and certain false memoirs printed in Holland, under a number of fictitious names. Besides, it shews great want of capacity, to asperse the inquisition without reason, and to have recourse to falsehoods to render it detestable.

This tribunal, which was first set up for the extirpation of heretics, is precisely the thing which has the most separated the protestants from the church of Rome. They cannot look upon it without horror, and would sooner suffer death than consent to receive it; and the sulphureous shirts of the holy office were always with them the standard of general opposition.

Having thus gone through every thing relative to religion, I shall reserve for succeeding times the history of those misfortunes, of which it has been the cause either in reality or pretence in France and Germany, and now proceed to those amazing discoveries, which at this time brought glory and wealth to Portugal and Spain, which took in the whole universe, and made Philip II. the most powerful monarch of Europe.

C H A P. CXX.

Of the Discoveries of the PORTUGUESE.

HITHERTO we have only seen men, whose ambition disputed the possession, or disturbed the peace, of the known world: An ambition, which seemed at first more advantageous to mankind, but which in the end proved equally fatal, now excited human industry to go in search of new lands and new seas.

It is well known that the pointing of the needle to the north, which remained so long hidden from the most learned

learned people, was discovered in the times of ignorance, towards the end of the thirteenth century. Soon afterwards Flavio Goia, of Amalfi in the kingdom of Naples, invented the compass, and distinguished the touched point by a flower de luce; which was one of the armorial bearings of the kings of Naples, as being descended from the house of France.

This discovery remained a long time without being put in use; and the verses mentioned by Fauchet to prove that the compass was made use of in 1300, were probably written in the fourteenth century.

The Canary islands had already been discovered, without the help of the compass, about the end of the fourteenth century. These islands, which in Ptolomy and Pliny's time were called the Fortunate islands, *Insulae Fortunatae*, were well known to the Romans, after they became masters of Africa Tingitana, from which they are not far distant. But the fall of the Roman empire having broke off all communication between the western nations, who now became all strangers to each other, these islands were lost to us. They were discovered again in the year 1300 by some Biscayans; Lewis de la Cerda, prince of Spain, son to that Lewis who lost the crown, finding that he could not be king of Spain, demanded of pope Clement V. in 1306, the title of king of these islands; and, as the popes were always fond of bestowing real or imaginary kingdoms, Clement crowned him king of these islands in Avignon: La Cerda, however, rather chose to continue in France, which was then the place of his asylum, than to make a voyage to the Fortunate Islands.

The first time, we find the use of the compass mentioned with any certainty, is by the English under Edward III. The little knowledge that remained amongst mankind was confined to the cloisters. An Oxonian monk, named Linna*, who was a very skilful astronomer for the times he lived in, penetrated as far as Iceland, and drew some charts of the north seas, which were afterwards made use of in the reign of Henry VI.

But

* He was called Nicolaus de Linna, or of Lynn, in Norfolk, from the place of his birth.

But the more noble and useful discoveries were not made till the beginning of the fifteenth century. These were begun by Prince Henry of Portugal, son to king John I. who thereby rendered his name more glorious than that of all his cotemporaries. This prince was a philosopher, and he employed his philosophy in doing good to the world.

Five degrees on this side of our tropic lies a promontory, which stretches out into the Atlantic ocean, and which, till that time, had been the *ne plus ultra* of navigation ; it was called cape Non ; a word which signified that it was not to be passed.

Prince Henry found some pilots bold enough to double this cape, and to sail as far as cape Boyador, which is only two degrees distant from the tropic ; but this new promontory, which stretched for the length of one hundred and twenty miles into the ocean, and was surrounded on all sides with rocks and banks of sand, and in the midst of a very boisterous sea, damped the courage of the pilots. The prince, whom nothing discouraged, sent others in their room ; but these could not make their passage, and returned back by the main ocean. On

their way they discovered the island of Madeira, which was certainly known to the Carthaginians, and which some exaggerated accounts had made to pass for an immense island ; nay, by a still greater exaggeration, some moderns have taken it for the continent of America itself. Its discoverers gave it the name of Madeira, from its being covered with wood ; Madeira in the Portuguese language signifying wood, hence came our (French) word *Madrerie* *.

Prince Henry ordered some vines of Greece to be planted there, and sugar canes which he procured from Sicily and Cyprus, whither they had been brought by the Arabians from the Indies ; and from these sugar canes came those which were afterwards transplanted into the American islands, which at present furnish all Europe with that commodity.

Henry

* In terms of fortification, a thick plank or board.

Henry persevered Madeira; but he was obliged to give up the Canary islands, of which he had taken possession, to the Spaniards, who prosecuted the claim of Lewis de la Cerda and pope Clement's bull.

Cape Boyador had struck such dread into the minds of all the pilots, that for above thirteen years not one of them dared to attempt the passing it. At length prince Henry, by his resolution, inspired a few of them with fresh courage. They passed the tropic, and sailed near four hundred leagues beyond it, as far as cape de Verd. Their discovery of cape de Verd and Azores islands, is intirely owing to his care and diligence. If it is true, as is asserted, that they saw upon one of the rocks of the Azores, a statue, representing a man on horseback, holding the horse's main with his left hand, and pointing with his right to the west, we may reasonably suppose that this monument belonged to the ancient Carthaginians; and the inscription found on it, in unintelligible characters, seems a corroborating proof.

Almost all that part of the coast of Africa, which had been discovered, was under the dominion of the emperors of Morocco; who had extended their sovereignty and religion from the streights of Gibraltar to the river of Senegal, across the deserts: but the country was very thinly peopled, and the inhabitants were hardly a degree removed from brutes. When the adventurers had published their discoveries beyond Senegal, they were surprised to find the men to the southward of that river jet black, while those to the northward were ash-coloured. These discoveries were hitherto more curious than useful. It was necessary to people these islands, and the trade on the western coast of Africa produced no great advantages. At length some gold was discovered on the coast of Guinea, but in very small quantities; hence came the name of guineas, which the English afterwards gave to the coin, which they struck from the gold they found in this country.

The Portuguese, to whom belongs the sole honour of enlarging the limits of the earth for the rest of mankind,

kind, passed the equator, and discovered the kingdom of Congo: they now beheld a new heaven, and new stars.

The Europeans now saw, for the first time, the southern pole, and the four stars which are the nearest to it. It is something very extraordinary, that the famous Danté should have spoken of these very stars above one hundred years before this discovery. "I turned myself to the right, says he in the first canto of his Purgatory, and looked towards the other pole, there I beheld four stars, which have never been known to men, but in the first infancy of the world." This prediction seems much more positive than that which we find in the Medea of Seneca the tragedian, who says, "That a day shall come, when the ocean shall no longer separate nations, when a new Tiphys shall discover a new world, and Thule cease to be the boundary the earth."

This vague idea of Seneca is no other than a probable hope, founded on the progress which might be made in navigation; and the pretended prophecy of Danté has in fact no relation to the discoveries of the Spaniards and Portuguese. The clearer this prophecy appears, the less reason is there to believe it true. It is by mere chance that the south pole and its four stars happen to be spoken of by Danté. He expresses himself only in a figurative sense, and his whole poem is a continued allegory; the pole with him means the terrestrial paradise; the four stars, known only to the first race of men, are the four cardinal virtues, which disappeared with the times of primitive innocence. If we were, in like manner, to search into most of the predictions with which so many books abound, we should find that nothing was ever meant to be foretold by them; and that the knowledge of futurity belongs alone to God, and those whom he has been pleased to inspire.

It was not known before, whether the needle would point to the antarctic pole in drawing near to that pole. It was now found to point constantly to the north.

They continued sailing, till they came to the
1486 southermost point of Africa, and here the
cape of Tempests struck the navigators with

as

as much dread, as that of Boyador had done; but as the king entertained a hope of finding a way, on the other side this cape, by which he might make the tour of Africa, and carry a trade as far as the Indies, he changed its name to that of cape de bona Esperanza, or the cape of Good Hope; a name which afterwards verified his conjectures. Soon afterwards king Emanuel, who inherited the noble emulation of his ancestors, in spite of the remonstrances of the whole kingdom, sent thither a small fleet of four ships, under the command of Vasco de Gama, who rendered his name immortal by this expedition.

Vasco doubled this cape, and sailing through unknown seas, towards the equator, he had 1457 not yet passed the tropic of Capricorn, when he met with a civilized nation at Sophala, who spoke the Arabian tongue. From the latitude of the Canary islands, till he came to Sophala, men, animals, and plants, had all appeared to be of a new species; and his surprize was extreme, to find in this country a people who exactly resembled those of the known continent. The Mahometan religion had made its way hither. Thus the Mussulmans, who had travelled into Africa from the east, and the Christians in sailing up by the west, met together at the extremity of the globe.

Having, at length, found Mahometan pilots in fourteen degrees of south latitude, he landed in the kingdom of Calicut, in the East Indies, 1498 after having discovered above fifteen hundred leagues of coast.

This voyage of Gama made a total change in the trade of the old world. Alexander, whom certain orators have represented only as a destroyer, and who nevertheless founded more cities than he subverted, and certainly merited the title of Great, notwithstanding his vices, had destined the city of Alexandria for the centre of commerce, and the point of union to all nations; and it actually was so under the Ptolomies, the Romans, and the Arabians. It was the general staple of Egypt, Europe, and the Indies. In the fifteenth century, Venice

Venice brought almost all the commodities of the east and south from Alexandria; and enriched herself, at the expence of the rest of Europe, by her own industry, and the ignorance of other Christians; and but for Gama's voyage, this republic would soon have become the preponderating power of Europe; but the passage round the cape of Good Hope turned aside the source of her riches.

Potentates had hitherto gone to war to strip each other of their territories: they now quarrelled about settling factories. In the year 1500, no one could have pepper from Calicut, without venturing his life for it.

Alphonso d'Albuquerque, and a small number of other famous Portuguese generals, made war successively upon the kings of Calicut, Ormus, and Siam, and defied the Sultan of Egypt's whole fleet. The Venetians, who were as much concerned as the Egyptians to check the progress of the Portuguese, had made a proposal to this sultan, of cutting through the isthmus of Suez, at their own expence, and digging a canal to join the river Nile to the Red Sea. Had this project succeeded, they would have secured the trade of India in their own hands; but this noble design was baffled by a number of difficulties and delays, and Albuquerque, in the mean time, took Goa a
 city on this side the Ganges, Malacca, in the
 Golden Chersonesus; Aden, at the entrance
 of the Red Sea, on the coasts of Arabia Felix;
 and, last of all made himself master of Ormus
 in the gulph of Persia.

1510

1511

1513

1514

The Portuguese, soon after this, formed settlements all along the coast of the island of Ceylon, which produces the finest cinnamon and richest rubies of the east. They had factories at Bengal, they traded to Siam, founded the city of Macao, on the frontiers of China, and their ships frequently sailed to the eastern parts of Ethiopia, and the coasts of the Red Sea. The Molucca islands, the only spot in the world where nature produces cloves, were discovered and conquered by them. These new settlements were formed partly by treaties, and partly by war: they were obliged sometimes to
 make

make use of force to open a new trade in this part of the world.

Thus, in less than fifty years, the Portuguese made the discovery of above five thousand leagues of coast; and became the masters of all the trade carried on in the Ethiopic and Atlantic oceans. In the year 1540, they had several considerable settlements, from the Molucca islands to the ^gulp of Persia, which forms an extent of sixty-three degrees of longitude. They furnished Europe with every thing that nature produced, of useful, curious, or pleasing, and at a much cheaper rate than the Venetians could do. The voyage from the Tagus to the Ganges became frequent, and the kingdoms of Siam and Portugal were now become allies.

C H A P. CXXI.

Of the JAPAN Islands.

THE Portuguese after having raised themselves to be rich merchants and kings, on the coast of India, and in the peninsula of Ganges, made a visit, in the year 1538, to the island of Japan.

Of all the countries in India, no one better deserves the attention of a philosopher than Japan. We ought to have been acquainted with these islands as early as the thirteenth century, from the relation of the famous Marco Paulo, a Venetian; who, having travelled over land to China, and served for a considerable time, under one of the sons of Jenghizkan, first conceived a notion of those islands, which we call Japan, and by him were named Zipangri. But Paulo's cotemporaries, though they would adopt the most absurd fables, would not give credit to the truths which he related. His manuscript lay for a long time neglected, and almost unknown, till at length it fell into the hands of Christopher Columbus, who, upon reading it, was greatly confirmed in his hopes of discovering a new world joining together the east and the west. Columbus

bus was only mistaken in supposing that Japan joined to the hemisphere which he had lately discovered.

This kingdom bounds our continent, as we do it, on the opposite side. I cannot tell on what account the Japanese have been called our antipodes in morals; there can be no such antipodes among people who improve their reason. The established religion at Japan admits of rewards and punishments after death. Their chief commandments, which they call divine are exactly the same as ours; lying, incontinence, theft and murder, are equally prohibited, and, with them, it is the law of nature reduced to positive precepts. To this they add another precept, which is that of temperance, by which the use of strong liquors of all kinds is forbidden; and they extend the prohibition of murder even to the brute creation. Saka, from whom they received this law, lived about a thousand years before our common æra. These people then differ from us in morality, only by the precept which relates to the preservation of beasts. They have a number of fabulous accounts; but in this they resemble all other nations, and us among the rest, who had nothing but the grossest fictions before Christianity. Their customs, likewise, are different from ours; so are those of all the eastern nations, from the streights of the Hellespont to the extremity of Corea.

As the foundation of morality is the same in all nations, so there are likewise customs in civil life which are the same throughout the world. The Japanese, for instance, visit each other on the first day of the new year, and make reciprocal presents, in the same manner as is practised by the Europeans; and relations and friends meet together on particular festivals.

The most remarkable thing is, that their government has continued upwards of two thousand four hundred years exactly the same in form with that of the Mahometan caliph, and of modern Rome. The chiefs of religion, among the Japanese, have been the chiefs of the kingdom much longer than in any other nation whatever; the succession of the pontiff kings may be traced with certainty for above six hundred and sixty
years

years before our æra. But the government coming by little and little to be divided among the laity, they at length made themselves masters of the whole, towards the end of the sixteenth century, but without daring to destroy the race, or name of the pontiffs, whose power they had usurped. The ecclesiastical emperor, whom they call *Dairi*, is still revered by them like an idol, and the general of the crown, who is in fact the real emperor, treats the *Dairi*, whom he keeps in an honourable confinement, with the utmost respect: and the *Taicosamas* have done no more in Japan than what the Turks have done at Bagdat, and the German emperors endeavoured to do at Rome.

Human nature, which is every where essentially the same, has placed many other resemblances between these people and us. They have the same superstitious notions of witchcraft as prevailed so long in Europe. They have their pilgrimages, and their trials by fire, which formerly made a part of our jurisprudence. Lastly, they place their illustrious men among the Gods, as did the Greeks and Romans. Their pontiffs, like them of Rome, (if I may be allowed the comparison) have the sole right of canonization, and of dedicating temples to those whom they judge deserving of them. The priests are in every thing distinguished from the laity, and a reciprocal contempt prevails betwixt the two orders. They have for a long time had monks, recluses, and even regular orders among them, not much unlike our military ones; for there was an ancient society of anchorets in Japan, who made a vow of fighting for their religion.

But, notwithstanding an establishment of this kind, which seems a kind of prelude to civil wars, such as were occasioned in Europe, by the Teutonic order of Prussia; liberty of conscience is universally allowed in this country, as well as throughout the east. Japan, though under the government of a pontiff king, was divided into several sects; but all these sects were united in the same principles of morality. Those who believed the *metempsychosis*, and those who denied it, equally abstained from eating the flesh of those animals,

who are of use to man. The whole nation lived upon rice, pulse, fish, and fruits, and with them temperance seems rather a virtue than a superstition.

The doctrine of Confucius has made great progress in this empire. As it confines itself wholly to simple morality, it has captivated the minds of all who are not attached to the bonzes, which has always been the wisest part of the nation. It is thought that this doctrine has not a little contributed to overthrow the Dairi's power. The emperor who reigned in 1700 was professedly of this religion.

They seem to have made a worse use of this doctrine at Japan than in China. The Japanese philosophers look upon suicide as a virtuous action, when it does not injure society. The violent and haughty disposition of these islanders frequently leads them to put it in practice, and this crime is much more common in Japan than even in England.

Liberty of conscience, as remarks that authentic and learned traveller Kempfer, has always been allowed in Japan, as well as throughout all the rest of Asia. A number of different religions were suffered without opposition to settle in Japan; and God thus permitted a way to be opened for the gospel, in these vast regions. Every one knows the amazing progress which it made in almost one half of this great empire, at the end of the sixteenth century. The famous embassy of three Christian princes of Japan to pope Gregory XIII. is perhaps the most flattering homage which the see of Rome ever received. This immense country, where, at present, every one who enters it must abjure Christianity, and where the Dutch are only admitted, on condition of performing no act of religion, was once on the eve of becoming a Christian, and perhaps a Portuguese, kingdom, likewise. Our priests then received more honours there than even at home, and, at present, a price is set upon their heads, and that a very considerable one too, being no less than twelve thousand livres. The indiscretion of a Portuguese priest, who would not give place to one of the king's chief officers, was the first occasion of this great revolution. Another was the ob-
stinacy

stinacy of certain Jesuits, who stood up too strictly for their rights, and refused to restore a house, which a Japanese nobleman had given them, and which his son afterwards claimed again. The third and last, was the apprehension of the people themselves, of being subjected by the Christians, and this caused a civil war. We shall hereafter see how the Christian religion, which first introduced itself into this country by peaceable missions, ended afterwards by war.

At present, let us confine ourselves to what Japan was at that time; to the antiquity which this nation boasts in common with the Chinese; and to that succession of pontiff kings, which precedes our æra by above six centuries; and, in particular, let us not omit to remark, that these are the only people of Asia, who have never been conquered. The Japanese have been compared to the English for that *insular* haughtiness, which is common to both nations, and the disposition to suicide, which is thought so frequent on these two extremities of our hemisphere. But the Japan islands have never been subdued, whereas those of Great Britain have been conquered more than once. The Japanese do not appear to be a mixture of many different people, as the English, and all our northern nations. They seem rather to be Aborigines. Their laws, worship, manners, and language, have no resemblance with those of the Chinese; and China itself seems to have had an original existence of its own, and not to have received any thing from other nations, till very lately. You are struck with the great antiquity of the Asiatic nations, none of whom, the Tartars excepted, ever spread themselves to any great distance from their own borders, and at the same time, you see that a nation, very inconsiderable in strength, extent, and numbers, and hardly, till this time, mentioned in the history of the world, sent forth a few adventurers from the port of Lisbon, who discovered these immense countries and settled themselves there in all the pomp of power.

No trade was ever so advantageous to the Portuguese as that of Japan. Dutch writers tell us that they brought

from thence every year three hundred tons of gold ; now every one knows that an hundred thousand florins make what the Dutch call a ton. This is greatly exaggerating matters ; but it is evident by the extreme care, which these industrious and indefatigable republicans have taken to exclude all nations, but their own, from trading to Japan, that it must, especially in the beginning, have been immensely advantageous. They bought the best tea in Asia there, the finest earthen ware, and amber-grease, a kind of copper, far superior in goodness to ours ; and, lastly, gold and silver, the principal object of all these undertakings.

This country, like that of China, possesses almost all those things which we have ; and almost all that we want. It is as well peopled as China, in proportion to its bigness ; and the natives are more fierce and warlike. These people were formerly much superior to ours of the West, in all the liberal and mechanic arts. But how nobly have we redeemed our lost time ! The countries where a Bramantes and a Michael Angelo have built the cathedral of Rome ; where a Raphael has painted ; where a Newton has calculated infinites ; and where Cinna and Athalia have been written, are now become the first countries upon earth. Other nations are no better than barbarians, or children, in the fine arts, notwithstanding their boasted antiquity, and all that nature has done for them.

I shall not, in this place, make any mention of the kingdom of Siam, which was not known till the time of Lewis XIV. who received an embassy from thence, and sent over troops and missionaries, who proved equally useless ; nor shall I detain you with an account of the people of Tonquin, Laos, and Cochin-China, as they have been very little visited, and not at all, till long after the expeditions of the Portuguese, and as our trade has never been able to make any considerable progress in these countries.

The powers of Europe, and the traders who enrich them, had no other view in all these discoveries than to find out new treasures. Philosophers, however, have by this means discovered a new world in morality and physics.

sics. An easy passage being opened from all the ports of Europe to the farther parts of the Indies, gave us an opportunity of indulging our curiosity with the ocular demonstration of whatever we were ignorant of, or concerning which we had but an imperfect knowledge from the false relations of antient writers. What subjects were offered to the reflecting mind in beholding, on the farther shores of the river Zaira, inhabited by an innumerable multitude of blacks, the vast coast of Cafraria, where the inhabitants are all of an olive colour, and deprive themselves of one testicle in honour of the deity, while the Ethiopians, and many other people of Africa, content themselves with offering only a part of their fore-skins ! Then, in returning back to Sophala, Quilôa, Montbasa, and Melinda, to meet with blacks of a still different species from those of Nigritia, as well as whites, and others of a copper colour, all of whom spring from the same common parent ; and all these countries abounding in animals and vegetables wholly unknown to our climates !

In the middlemost parts of Africa there is a race, though very few in number, of little men, who are as white as snow, with faces like those of the negroes, and round eyes, exactly resembling those of a partridge. Two of these animals have been seen in France, and some of them are yet to be met with in the eastern parts of Asia.

The vast peninsula of the Indus, which runs from the mouth of the Nile and Ganges to the middle of the Maldivian islands, is inhabited by twenty different nations, whose manners and religion have not the least resemblance with each other. The natives of the country are of a deep copper-colour. Dampiere met with men in the isle of Timor, whose skins are the colour of brass ; so greatly does nature vary in her productions.

In the peninsula of Indus, on this side the Ganges, dwell a great number of Banians, who are descended from the antient Brachmans. These people are strongly attached to the antient doctrine of the metempsychosis, and the two principles which prevail in all the provinces

of India, and will not eat any thing that has the breath of life ; they resemble the Jews in obstinately refusing to incorporate with any other nation ; they boast the same antiquity, and, like them, devote themselves entirely to commerce.

This country in particular has preserved that custom which has subsisted from time immemorial, by which women are encouraged to burn themselves with the dead bodies of their husbands, in hopes of being born anew.

About Surat, Cambaya, and on the borders of Persia, we find the Guebres, who are remains of the antient Persians, follow the religion of Zoroaster, and, like the Banians and Hebrews, will not intermix with other nations. There are several antient Jewish families in India ; they are thought to have been settled there ever since their first dispersion. On the coasts of Malabar, there were found a colony of Nestorian Christians, falsely called the Christians of St. Thomas, who did not know that there was a church of Rome : these were formerly governed by a patriarch of Syria, and still acknowledge this phantom of a patriarch, who resided, or rather hid himself, in Mosul, which they pretend to be the antient Nineveh. This weak Syriac church was, in a manner, buried beneath its own ruins by the Mahometan power, as well as the other churches of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria. The Portuguese brought the Roman-catholic religion with them into these countries, and founded an archbishopric in Goa, which now became a metropolitan see, as well as a capital city. They endeavoured to reduce the Malabar Christians to the obedience of the holy see, but without success. What has been effected with so much ease among the savages of America could never, with the utmost endeavours, be brought to bear with those churches who had once separated themselves from the Romish communion.

In going from Ormus to Arabia they met with disciples of St. John, who had never heard of the gospel, and are those we call Sabeans.

After a passage was opened through the eastern seas of India to China and Japan, and the inner parts of those countries came to be inhabited by European settlers, the customs,

customs, manners, and religion of the Chinese, Japanese, and Siamese, were better known to us than those of the nations bordering upon our own had been during the barbarous ages.

Nothing is more worthy the attention of a philosopher than the apparent difference between the eastern customs and ours, which is as great as between our languages. The best governed among those nations differ from us in the nature of their polity; their arts are not like ours; their food, cloaths, houses, gardens, laws, worship and rules of decorum, are all different. What can be more opposite to our customs than the manner in which the Brachmans carry on their traffic at Indostan? The most considerable bargains are made without speaking or writing, and only by the means of signs. Indeed, how is it possible that the eastern customs should not in almost every respect differ from ours? Nature herself is not the same in their climates as she is in Europe. In the southern parts of India, young people of both sexes are marriageable at seven or eight years of age, and it is a common thing to contract marriage at those years. These children become parents, and enjoy the portion of reason they have received from nature, at a time when ours has scarcely begun to unfold itself.

All these people resemble us in nothing but the passions, and the universal law of reason which counteracts those passions, and impresses upon all hearts this necessary precept, "Do not that to others which thou wouldst not have them do to thee." These two characters are stamped by nature on all the different species of the human race, and are two links by which she connects them all. Every thing else is purely the effect of climate and customs. Thus the city of Pegu is guarded by crocodiles, which swim round it in a vast ditch filled with water; and at Java the women mount guard at the king's palace.

At Siam the chief glory of the kingdom consists in possessing a white elephant. There is no corn at Malabar; and bread and wine are unknown to the inhabitants of all the isles. In one of the Philippine islands a tree is found whose fruit perfectly resembles the finest

bread. In the Marian islands they were not acquainted with the use of fire.

It is certain, that we should suspend our belief with regard to many of the relations brought us from distant countries. They take more pains to send us commodities from Malabar than real truths, and an accidental circumstance is frequently mistaken for an established custom. Thus we are told, that at Cochin the king's son does not inherit his kingdom, but the son of his sister. Such a regulation is plainly repugnant to the law of nature; no man would willingly disinherit his own son: and, supposing the king of Cochin has no sister, who is to inherit the throne? It is probable that a politic nephew might have prevailed over the rights of a son ill-advised and worse assisted, and that some traveller took this accident for an established law. An hundred writers have copied after this traveller, and thus his error gains credit*.

Some authors, who have lived in India, pretend to affirm that there is no private proverty in the Mogul's dominions, which would be still more contradictory to nature than the preceding story. At the same time we are told, and by the same writers, that they have had dealings with some of the Indians who have been worth millions. Now these two assertions seem a little contradictory†. Let it be always remembered, that the northern conquerors established the custom of fiefs from Lombardy to India. If a Banian therefore had travelled into Italy in the time of Astolphus and Alboan, could he with justice have affirmed that there was no private property

* This is not only the rule of succession in Cochin, but also in Guinea; and this we can aver upon certain information. The custom is founded on the supposition that the son of the king's sister must have royal blood in his veins; whereas the son of the king's wife may possibly be begotten by another person.

† By no means. A subject may be allowed to trade to a very great extent, and amass great wealth, which, however, he dares not call his own, while he lives at the mercy of a despotic prince, whose word can not only strip him of all his riches, but even deprive him of his life.

property amongst the Italians? We cannot labour too assiduously to refute a notion which is so humbling to mankind, as that of there being countries where millions of people incessantly toil for one single man.

We should be as cautious in crediting those who tell us of temples dedicated to lewdness. Let us put ourselves in the place of an Indian who might be witness to some of the scandalous scenes exhibited by our monks in Europe; ought he to affirm that these were the established rules of their order?

One circumstance which should claim your particular attention is, that almost all these people have imbibed an opinion, that their gods have made frequent visits to the world. Vishnou assumed nine different shapes in the peninsula of the Ganges; Sammonocodom, the god of the Siamese, put on man's form five hundred and fifty times. This notion is common to these people with the antient Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans. This inconsiderate, ridiculous, and universal error, proceeds however, from a rational sentiment, which is at the bottom of all hearts. We are naturally conscious of our dependence upon a supreme Being; and error mingling itself with truth, has made the gods to be considered all over the world, as lords who sometimes come to visit and reform their dominions. Religion has been in many nations like astrology; both the one and the other were prior to history, and both of them have been equally a mixture of truth and imposture. The first observers of the stars ascribed fictitious influences to them; the founders of strange religions, while they acknowledged the existence of a God, sullied his worship with superstitious practices.

Amidst the number of different religions there is not one which has not made atonement for sins its chief end. Man has always felt a conviction that he stood in need of the Divine clemency. This gave rise to those frightful penances to which the Bonzes, Bramins, and Faquirs voluntarily subject themselves; and which, at the time that they seem to cry aloud for mercy upon human kind, are become a trade by which they get their livelihood.

I shall not enter upon the endless detail of all their customs, but there is one which appears so foreign to our manners, that I cannot forbear mentioning it: this is, that the Bramins carry in procession the Phallum of the Egyptians, or the Roman Priapus. Our notions of decency would induce us to imagine, that a ceremony, which to us appears so infamous, could never have been invented but by the spirit of lewdness itself; yet it is hardly to be supposed, that depravity of manners could have established a religious ceremony among any people whatever. On the contrary, it is rather probable that this custom was at first introduced in the times of innocence; and that in the beginning they thought only of honouring the Deity in the symbol of that life which he has given us. A ceremony of this kind necessarily inspired youth with licentious notions, and appeared ridiculous to graver minds, as the world became more refined, more corrupted, or more knowing. But the antient custom has been preserved notwithstanding the abuse made of it; and there are few nations which have not preserved some ceremony, which they could neither approve nor suppress.

After a review of so many extravagant notions and whimsical superstitions, would one readily believe that all the heathen people of India acknowledge, like us, an infinitely perfect Being? whom they term, "The being of beings, the supreme being, invisible, incomprehensible, without form, the creator and preserver, just and merciful, who delights in revealing himself to men, in order to bring them to eternal happiness. And yet these notions are actually contained in the Vedam, which is the Bible of the antient Brachmans; and are diffused through all the writings of the modern Bramins.

A learned Danish missionary on the coast of Tranquebar, quotes several passages and forms of prayer, which seem the result of the most enlightened reason and refined sanctity. One of these is taken from a book entitled Varabadu: "O supreme of all beings, lord of heaven and earth, I cannot contain thy perfections in my heart. Before whom shall I deplore my misery, if thou abandonest me; thou to whom I owe my support and my

my preservation? Without thee I cannot live. Call me then, O Lord, that I may come towards thee."

And yet, notwithstanding this wisdom and sublimity in the doctrine, the vilest and most superstitious follies prevail in the exercise of their religion. This is a contradiction too common to human nature; the Greeks and Romans had the same idea of a supreme Being, and yet they added such a number of inferior deities, the people worshipped these deities in so many superstitious ways, and stifled the truth under such a load of fictions, that there was no distinguishing what was deserving of veneration from what merited contempt.

But you must not waste your time in enquiring into the numberless sects into which India was divided. Error appears there in too many shapes: besides, it is probable that our travellers have sometimes taken different rites for opposite sects. Every college of priests in antient Greece and Rome had its particular ceremonies and sacrifices. Hercules was not worshipped after the same manner as Apollo, nor Juno like Venus; and yet all these forms of worship belonged to the same religion.

The people of our western hemisphere, in all these discoveries, gave proofs of a great superiority of genius and courage over the eastern nations. We have settled ourselves amongst them, and frequently in spite of their resistance. We have learned their languages, and have taught them some of our arts; but nature hath given them one advantage which overbalances all ours; which is, that they do not want us, but we them †.

CHAP.

† Nature has given them no such advantage: for we are naturally as independent as they; and we lived much more independent and comfortably than they do at present, even before we knew them or their country. By the same way of reasoning, the Hottentots may be said to be naturally more independent than the Europeans; so may every miserable savage that roves among the deserts of America, or the snows of Lapland.

C H A P. CXXII.

Of ETHIOPIA, or ABYSSINIA.

BEFORE the time of these discoveries, our western nations knew nothing of Ethiopia, besides the name. It was in the reign of the famous John II. of Portugal, that don Francisco d'Alvarez made his way into these vast regions which lie between the tropic and the equinoctial line, and are very difficult of access by sea.

On his arrival he found the Christian religion established in this country, not the same as it is amongst us, but as it was practised by the first Jews who embraced it, before the total separation between the two rites. This mixture of Judaism and Christianity has continued to be the established religion of Ethiopia to this day. They keep the Jewish and Christian sabbath, and baptize and circumcise their children. The priests are permitted to marry; divorce is generally allowed; and polygamy is the custom here as well as amongst the rest of the eastern Jews.

Don Alvarez was the first who discovered the true position of the head of the Nile, and the cause of that river's periodical overflowings; two things which were wholly unknown to the antients, even to the Egyptians themselves.

Alvarez's relation of these matters continued a long time to be of the number of those truths which are little known; and even to this time too many authors have echoed the errors of antiquity in asserting, that it was not permitted to man to discover the sources of the Nile. The name of Prester John was at this time given to the Negus or king of Ethiopia, without any other reason than because he pretended to be descended from the race of Solomon by the queen of Sheba, and that it was foretold, after the crusades, that a Christian prince should be found in the world, named Prester John. However, the Negus was neither a Christian nor a priest.

All the advantages reaped from the voyages to Ethiopia consisted in obtaining an embassy to be sent from the king of this country to pope Clement VII. The country was very poor, though abounding in mines full of silver. The inhabitants, who were not so industrious as the Americans, knew not how to make use of these riches, nor yet to avail themselves of those more substantial treasures which the earth furnishes to supply men's real wants.

Accordingly, we find that a Negus of Ethiopia, named David, sent a letter to the Portuguese governor in the Indies, requesting him to supply him with workmen of all kinds: this was being indeed very poor. Three fourths of Africa, America, and the northern part of Asia, were in the same state of indigence. We are apt to think, amidst the ease and plenty we enjoy in our cities, that all the world resembles us, never reflecting that men lived for a long time like other animals, almost destitute of food and shelter in the midst of mines of gold and diamonds.

This kingdom of Ethiopia, which we have heard so greatly extolled, was in fact so defenceless, that a petty Mahometan king, who was master of a neighbouring canton, made almost the entire conquest of it in the beginning of the sixteenth century. We have a famous letter of John Bermudes to Sebastian king of Portugal, which may convince us, either that the Ethiopians are not that unconquerable people of whom Herodotus speaks, or that they are greatly degenerated.

This Latin patriarch was sent, with a few Portuguese soldiers, to protect the young Negus of Abyssinia against the Moorish king before-mentioned, who had invaded his dominions; but it unfortunately happened, that after the Negus was restored, the patriarch still insisted upon continuing his protector. He was his godfather, and thought himself his master, on account of being his father and a patriarch. He therefore commanded him to submit to the pope's authority, and threatened him with excommunication in case of refusal. Alphonso d'Albuquerque did not behave with greater haughtiness towards the petty princes in the peninsula

peninsula of Ganges, than the patriarch did to this monarch. But the godson being firmly settled again on his golden throne, paid little regard to the commands or menaces of his godfather; and, instead of acknowledging the pope's authority, expelled the patriarch from his dominions.

This same Bermudes pretends, that on the frontiers of Damut, a country lying between Abyssinia and the territories bordering on the source of the Nile, there is a small district, where two thirds of the earth is filled with gold. It was this which the Portuguese went in search of, but were disappointed in their expectations. This was the true occasion of those voyages of which the patriarchs were the pretext. There is reason to believe that the earth in Africa contains great quantities of this metal, which has put the whole world in motion. The gold sands which roll down its rivers plainly shew, that there is a large mine of this ore in the neighbouring mountains. But hitherto this mine has eluded the search of avarice; and, in consequence of the efforts made in America and Asia, we are less able to prosecute any attempts in the middle of Africa.

C H A P. CXXIII.

OF COLUMBUS, and AMERICA.

IT is to these discoveries of the Portuguese in the old world, that we are indebted for the new, if we may call the conquest of America an obligation, which proved so fatal to its inhabitants, and at times to the conquerors themselves.

This was doubtless the most important event that ever happened on our globe, one half of which had been hitherto strangers to the other. Whatever had been esteemed most great or noble before, seemed absorbed in this kind of new creation. We still mention with respectful admiration the names of the Argonauts, who did not perform the hundredth part of what was
done

done by the sailors under Gama and Albuquerque. How many altars would have been raised by the anti-ents to a Greek who had discovered America ! And yet Bartholomew and Christopher Columbus were not thus rewarded.

Columbus, struck with the wonderful expeditions of the Portuguese, imagined that something greater might yet be done ; and from a bare inspection of the map of our world, concluded that there must be another *, which might be found by sailing always West. He had courage equal to his genius, or indeed superior, seeing he had to struggle with the prejudices of his cotemporaries, and the repulses of several princes to whom he tendered his services. Genoa, which was his native country, treated his schemes as visionary, and by that means lost the only opportunity that could have offered of aggrandizing her power. Henry VII. king of England, who was too greedy of money to hazard any on this noble attempt, would not listen to the proposals made by Columbus's brother † ; and Columbus himself was rejected by John II. of Portugal, whose attention was wholly employed upon the coast of Africa. He had

* What ! did he by surveying a map of this world, believe there should be another in it ? this would have been a strange inference indeed. By considering the nature of the terraqueous globe, he took it for granted that the land must bear a proportion to the water, and that the East Indies extended so far towards that country which is now called America, that he should be able to find it by steering in a western direction. Accordingly, when he first discovered the land of the American continent, he supposed it was a continuation of the East Indies.

† Here our author is egregiously mistaken. Bartholomew Columbus, the brother of Christopher, in his voyage to England was taken by pirates, and reduced to such indigence, that when he arrived at London, he found himself destitute of money, friends, and credentials. It was by his ingenuity in making sea-charts, that he earned a subsistence, and in a few years acquired consequence enough to deserve the attention of the ministry ; then his proposal was relished, and his brother's conditions accepted ; but by this time Christopher had actually failed in the service of Isabella. Henry, notwithstanding his avarice, was nevertheless a patron of discovery ; witness the protection and countenance he granted to the Cabots, who discovered the northern parts of America.

had no prospect of success in applying to the French, whose marine lay totally neglected, and their affairs more confused than ever, during the minority of Charles VIII. The emperor Maximilian had neither ports for shipping, money to fit out a fleet, nor sufficient courage to engage in a scheme of this nature. The Venetians indeed might have undertaken it; but whether the natural aversion of the Genoese to these people, would not suffer Columbus to apply to the rivals of his country, or that the Venetians had no idea of any thing more important than the trade they carried on from Alexandria, and in the Levant; Columbus at length fixed all his hopes on the court of Spain.

Ferdinand king of Arragon, and Isabella queen of Castile, had by their marriage united all Spain under one dominion, excepting only the kingdom of Grenada, which was still in the Moors' possession, but which Ferdinand soon after took from them. The union of these two princes had prepared the way for the greatness of Spain, which was afterwards begun by Columbus; he was however obliged to undergo eight years of incessant application, before Isabella's court would consent to accept of the inestimable benefit this great man offered it. The bane of all great projects is the want of money. The Spanish court was poor; and the prior Perez, and two merchants named Pinzonó, were obliged to advance seventeen thousand ducats towards fitting out the armament. Columbus procured a patent from the court, and at length set sail from the port of Palos in Andalusia, with three small ships, on August 23, in the year 1492.

It was not above a month after his departure from the Canary islands, where he had come to an anchor to get refreshments, when Columbus discovered the first island in America; and during this short run he suffered more from the murmurings and discontent of the people of his fleet, than he had done even from the refusals of the princes he had applied to. This island, which he discovered, and named St. Salvador, lies about a thousand leagues from the Canaries; presently after he likewise discovered the Lucayan islands, together

ther with those of Cuba and Hispaniola, now called St. Domingo.

Ferdinand and Isabella were in the utmost surprize to see him return at the end of nine months, with some of the American natives of His- March 15, paniola, several rarities from that country, 1493. and a quantity of gold, with which he presented their majesties.

The king and queen made him sit down in their presence, covered like a grandee of Spain, and created him high-admiral and viceroy of the new world. Columbus was now every where looked upon as an extraordinary person sent from heaven. Every one was vying who should be foremost in assisting him in his undertakings, and embarking under his command. He soon set sail again, with a fleet of seventeen 1493 ships. He now made the discovery of several other new islands, particularly the Caribbees and Jamaica. Doubt had been changed into admiration on his first voyage, in this second, admiration was turned into envy.

He was admiral and viceroy, and to these titles might have added that of the benefactor of Ferdinand and Isabella. Nevertheless, he was brought home prisoner to Spain, by judges which had been purposely sent out on board his fleet to observe his conduct. As soon as it was known that Columbus was arrived, the people ran in shoals to meet him, as the guardian genius of Spain. Columbus was brought from the ship, and appeared on shore chained hands and feet.

He had been thus treated by the orders of Fonseca bishop of Burgos, the intendant of the expedition, whose ingratitude was as great as the other's services. Isabella was ashamed of what she saw, and did all in her power to make Columbus amends for the injuries done to him; however, he was not suffered to depart again for four years, either because they feared that he would seize upon what he had discovered for himself, or that they were willing to have time to observe his behaviour.

At length, he was sent on another voyage to 1498 his new world; and now it was, that he discovered the

the continent at six degrees distance from the equator, and saw that part of the coast on which Carthage has been since built.

At the time that Columbus first promised a new hemisphere, it was insisted upon that no such hemisphere could exist; and after he had made the actual discovery of it, it was pretended that it had been known long before. I shall not mention one Martin Behem of Nuremberg, who it is said went from that city to the straits of Magellan in 1460, with a patent from a duchess of Burgundy, who, as she was not alive at that time, could not issue patents. Nor shall I take notice of the pretended charts of this Martin Behem, which are still shewn, nor of the evident contradictions which discredit this story: but, in short, it was not pretended that Martin Behem had peopled America; the honour was given to the Carthaginians; and a book of Aristotle's was quoted on this occasion, which he never wrote. Some found out a conformity between some words in the Caribbee and Hebrew languages, and did not fail to follow so fine an opening. Others were positive that the children of Noah, after settling in Siberia, passed from thence over to Canada on the ice, and that their descendents, afterwards born in Canada, had gone and peopled Peru. According to others again, the Chinese and Japanese sent colonies into America, and carried over lions with them for their diversion, though there are no lions either in China or Japan. In this manner have many learned men argued upon the discoveries made by men of genius. If it should be asked how men first came upon the continent of America? Is it not easily answered, that they were placed there by the same power who caused trees and grass to grow.

The reply which Columbus made to some of those who envied him the great reputation he had gained, is still famous. These people pretended, that nothing could be more easy than the discoveries he had made; upon which he proposed to them to set an egg upright on one of its ends; but when they had tried in vain to do it, he broke one end of the egg, and set it upright with ease. They told him any one could do that; how

comes

comes it then, replied Columbus, that no one amongst you thought of it? This story is related of Brunelleschi, who improved architecture at Florence, many years before Columbus was born. Most *bon mots* are only the repetition of things that have been said before.

The ashes of Columbus cannot be affected with the reputation he gained while living, in having doubled for us the works of the creation. But mankind delight to do justice to the illustrious dead, either from a vain hope that they enhance thereby the merit of the living, or that they are naturally fond of truth. Americo Vespucci, whom we call Americus Vesputius, a merchant of Florence, had the honour of giving his name to this new half of the globe, in which he did not possess one acre of land, and pretended to be the first who discovered the continent. But supposing it true that he was the first discoverer †, the glory was certainly due to him who had the penetration and courage to undertake and perform the first voyage. Honour, as Newton says in his dispute with Leibnitz, is due only to the first inventor; those that follow after are only his scholars. Columbus had made three voyages as admiral and viceroy, five years before Americus Vesputius had made one as a geographer, under the command of Admiral Ojeda; but this latter, writing to his friends at Florence that he had discovered a new world, they believed him on his word, and the citizens of Florence decreed, that a grand illumination should be made before the door of his house every three years, on the feast of All-Saints. And yet, could this man be said to deserve any honours for happening to be on board a fleet that in 1489 sailed along the coast of Brazil, when Columbus had, five years before, pointed out the way to the rest of the world?

There has lately appeared at Florence, a life of this Americus Vesputius, which seems to be written with very little regard to truth, and without any conclusive reasoning. Several French authors are there complain-
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† But it was not true. Admiral Columbus, in his third voyage, actually landed on the continent of Paria, at Punta del Arenal, near Trinity Island, and brought from thence some gold and pearls.

ed of, who have done justice to Columbus's merit ; but the writer should not have fallen upon the French authors, but on the Spanish, who were the first that did this justice. This writer says, that " He will confound the vanity of the French nation, who have always attacked with impunity the honour and success of the Italian nation." What vanity can there be in saying, that it was a Genoese who first discovered America ? Or how is the honour of the Italian nation injured in owning, that it was to an Italian, born at Genoa, that we are indebted for the new world ? I purposely remark this want of equity, good breeding, and good sense, as we have too many examples of it ; and I must say, that the good French writers have in general been the least guilty of this insufferable fault ; and one great reason of their being so universally read throughout Europe, is their doing justice to all nations.

The inhabitants of these islands, and of the continent, were a new race of men. They were all without beards, and were as much astonished at the faces of the Spaniards, as they were at their ships and artillery : they at first looked upon these new visitors as monsters, or gods, who had come out of the sky, or the sea. These voyages, and those of the Portuguese, had now taught us how inconsiderable a spot of the globe our Europe was, and what an astonishing variety reigns in the world. Indostan was known to be inhabited by a race of men whose complexions were yellow. In Africa and Asia, at some distance from the equator, there had been found several kinds of black men ; and after travellers had penetrated into America as far as the line, they met with a race of people who were tolerably white. The natives of Brazil are of the colour of bronze. The Chinese still appear to differ entirely from the rest of mankind, in the make of their eyes and noses. But what is still to be remarked is, that, into whatsoever regions these various races are transplanted, their complexions never change, unless they mingle with the natives of the country. The mucous membrane of the negroes, which is known to be of a black colour, is a manifest proof, that there is a differential

differential principle in each species of men, as well as plants.

Dependent upon this principle, nature has formed the different degrees of genius, and the characters of nations, which are seldom known to change. Hence the negroes are slaves to other men, and are purchased on the coast of Africa like beasts, for a sum of money; and the vast multitudes of negroes transplanted into our American colonies, serve as slaves under a very inconsiderable number of Europeans. Experience has likewise taught us how great a superiority the Europeans have over the Americans, who are every where easily overcome, and have not dared to attempt a revolution, though a thousand to one superior in members.

This part of America was again remarkable on account of its animals and plants, which are not to be found in the other three parts of the world, and which are of so great use to us. Horses, corn of all kinds, and iron, were wanting in Mexico and Peru, and among the many valuable commodities unknown to the old world, cochineal was the principal, and was brought us from this country. Its use in dying has now made us forget the scarlet, which for time immemorial had been the only thing known for giving a fine red colour.

The importation of cochineal was soon succeeded by that of indico, cacao, vanille, and those woods which serve for ornament and medicinal purposes, particularly the *Quinquina*, or Jesuits bark, which is the only specific against intermittent fevers. Nature had placed this remedy in the mountains of Peru, whilst she had dispersed the disease it cured through all the rest of the world. This new continent likewise furnished pearls, coloured stones, and diamonds.

It is certain, that America at present furnishes the meanest citizen of Europe with his conveniences and pleasures. The gold and silver mines, at their first discovery, were of service only to the kings of Spain, and the merchants; the rest of the world was impoverished by them, for the great multitudes, who did not follow business, found themselves possessed of a very small quantity of specie, in comparison with the immense
sums

sums accumulated by those who had the advantage of the first discoveries. But by degrees the great quantity of gold and silver which was sent from America was dispersed throughout all Europe, and by passing into a number of hands, the distribution is become more equal. The price of commodities has likewise increased in Europe, in proportion to the increase of specie.

To comprehend how the treasures of America passed from the possession of the Spaniards into that of other nations, it will be sufficient to consider these two things: the use which Charles V. and Philip II. made of their money; and the manner in which other nations acquired a share in the mines of Peru.

The emperor Charles V. who was always travelling, and always at war, necessarily dispersed a great quantity of that specie which he received from Mexico and Peru, through Germany and Italy. When he sent his son Philip over to England, to marry queen Mary, and take upon him the title of king of England, that prince deposited in the tower of London, twenty-seven large chests of silver in bars, and an hundred horse-loads of gold and silver coin. The troubles in Flanders, and the intrigues of the league in France, cost this Philip, according to his own confession, above three thousand millions of livres of our money.

The manner in which the gold and silver of Peru is distributed amongst all the people of Europe, and from thence is sent to the East Indies, is a surprising, though well known circumstance. By a strict law enacted by Ferdinand and Isabella, and afterwards confirmed by Charles V. and all the kings of Spain, all other nations were not only excluded the entrance into any of the ports in Spanish America, but likewise from having the least share, directly or indirectly, in the trade of that part of the world. One would have imagined, that this law would have enabled the Spaniards to subdue all Europe; and yet Spain subsists only by the continual violation of this very law. It can hardly furnish exports for America to the value of four millions, whereas the rest of Europe sometimes send over merchandise

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to the amount of near fifty millions. This prodigious trade of the nations, at enmity or in alliance with Spain, is carried on by the Spaniards themselves, who are always faithful in their dealings with individuals, and always cheating their king, who stands in great need of it. The Spaniards give no security to foreign merchants for the performance of their contracts; a mutual credit, without which there never could have been any commerce, supplies the place of other obligations.

The manner in which the Spaniards for a long time consigned the gold and silver to foreigners, which was brought home by their galleons, was still more surprising. The Spaniard who, at Cadiz, is properly factor for the foreigner, delivered the bullion he received to the care of certain braves, called Meteors. These, armed with pistols at their belt, and a long sword, carried the bullion, in parcels properly marked, to the ramparts, and flung them over to the other meteors, who waited below and carried them to the boats which were to receive them, and these boats carried them aboard the ships in the road. These meteors and the factors, together with the commissaries and the guards, who never disturbed them, had each a stated fee, and the foreign merchant was never cheated. The king, who received a duty upon his money at the arrival of the galleons was likewise a gainer. So that, properly speaking, the law only was cheated: a law, which would be absolutely useless, if not eluded, and which, nevertheless, cannot yet be abrogated, because old prejudices are always the most difficult to be overcome amongst men.

The greatest instance of the violation of this law, and of the fidelity of the Spaniards was in the year 1684, when war was declared between France and Spain. His catholic majesty endeavoured to seize upon the effects of all the French in his kingdom; but he in vain issued edicts and admonitions, enquiries and ex-communications, not a single Spanish factor would betray his French correspondent. This fidelity, which does so much honour to the Spanish nation, plainly shews that men only willingly obey those laws which they

they themselves have made for the good of society, and that those which are the mere effects of a sovereign's will, always meet with opposition.

As the discovery of America was at first the source of much good to the Spaniards, it afterwards occasioned them many and considerable evils. One has been the depriving that kingdom of its subjects, by the great numbers necessarily required to people the colonies; another was, the infecting the world with a disease, which was before known only in the new world, and particularly in the island of Hispaniola. Several of the companions of Christopher Columbus returned home infected with this contagion, which afterwards spread over Europe. It is certain, that this poison, which taints the springs of life, was peculiar to America, as the plague and small-pox were diseases originally endemic to the southern parts of Numidia. We are not to believe that the eating of human flesh, practised by some of the American savages, occasioned this disorder. There were no cannibals on the island of Hispaniola, where it was most frequent and inveterate; neither are we to suppose, with some, that it proceeded from a too great excess of sensual pleasures. Nature had never punished excesses of this kind with such disorders in the world; and, even to this day, we find that a momentary indulgence, which has been passed and forgotten for eight or ten years, may bring this cruel and shameful scourge upon the chastest union.

And now, in order to see how this half of the globe became a prey to the powers of Christendom, it will be necessary to follow the Spaniards in their discoveries and conquests.

The great Columbus, after having built several houses on these islands, and discovered the continent, returned to Spain, where he enjoyed a reputation unsullied by rapine or cruelty, and died at Valladolid in 1506. But the governors of Cuba and Hispaniola, who succeeded him, being persuaded that these provinces furnished gold, resolved to make the discovery at the price of the inhabitants' lives. In short, whether they thought the natives had conceived an implacable hatred

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to them, or that they were apprehensive of their superior numbers; or that the rage of slaughter, when once begun knew no bounds; they in the space of a few years entirely depopulated Hispaniola and Cuba, the former of which contained three millions of inhabitants, and the latter above six hundred thousand.

Bartholomew de las Casas, bishop of Chiapa, who was witness to these desolations, relates that they hunted down the natives with dogs. These wretched savages, almost naked and without arms, were pursued like wild beasts in a forest, devoured alive by dogs, shot to death, or surprised and burnt in their habitations.

He farther declares, from ocular testimony, that they frequently caused a number of these miserable wretches to be summoned by a priest to come in, and submit to the Christian religion, and to the king of Spain, and that after this ceremony, which was only an additional act of injustice, they put them to death without the least remorse. I believe that las Casas has exaggerated in many parts of his relation; but, allowing him to have said ten times more than is truth, there remains enough to make us shudder with horror.

It may seem surprising, that this massacre of a whole race of men could have been carried on in the sight, and under the administration of several religious of the order of St. Jerome; for we know, that cardinal Ximenes, who was prime minister of Castile, before the time of Charles V. sent over four monks of this order, in quality of presidents of the royal council of the islands. Doubtless, they were not able to resist the torrent, and the hatred of the natives to their new masters being, with just reason, become implacable, rendered their destruction unhappily necessary.

VOL. III.



END of the THIRD VOLUME.